THE EMPIRE CLUB

ADDRESSES 1961-1962

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

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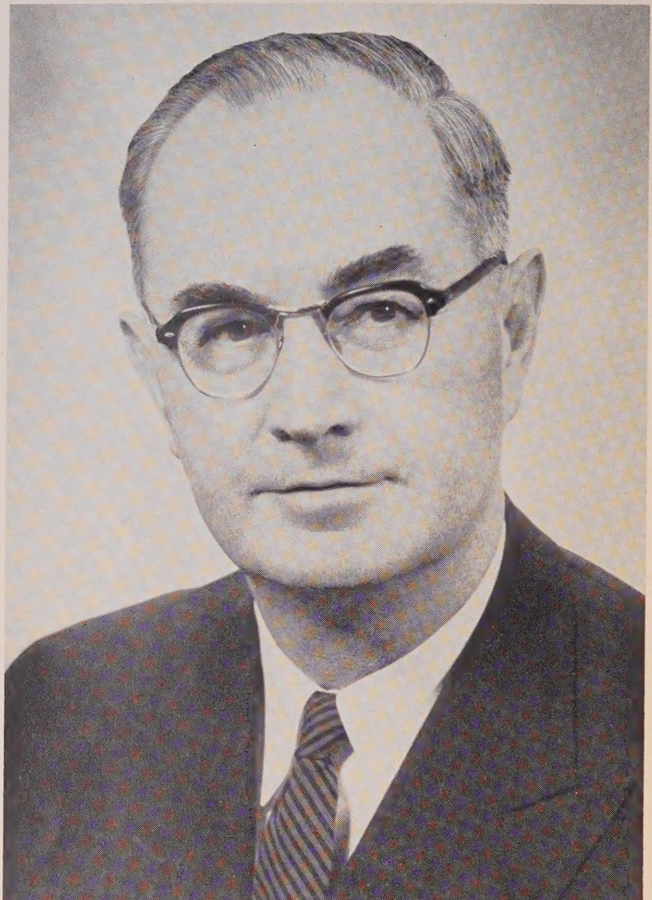

Z. S. PHIMISTER

PRESIDENT OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA
1961-62

THE EMPIRE CLUB
OF CANADA

Addresses 1961-1962

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

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Fifty-ninth Year of Issue

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EXCERPT FROM "ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB" PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR BOOK FOR 1903-1904

On November 18th, 1903, a small meeting was held in Webb's Restaurant, Toronto, mainly on the initiative of Lieut.-Col. James Mason, for the purpose of preliminary discussion. The Chairman in a brief speech pointed to the desirability of an organization, following the plan of weekly luncheons, to be addressed by prominent men, or men speaking with authority upon the issues of the day, and having also a distinctive basis of British Unity in its work and policy.

A sub-Committee met on the following day and appointed . . . . . a Committee to draft a Constitution.

The meeting at which these principles and rules were approved and organization effected was held at the Luncheon hour on November 25th, in Webb's Restaurant, with some seventy gentlemen present . . . . after a discussion of various proposed names . . . . The Empire Club of Canada . . . . was approved by a large majority.

THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY

AND

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society of London, England, and The Empire Club of Canada at Toronto were both founded for a single purpose and with a common aim:—The strengthening of the bonds of unity within the Empire. This mutual objective is prosecuted with vigorous enthusiasm by the members of these organizations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

The opinions and views expressed in the Addresses contained in this volume are those of the speakers themselves and do not necessarily carry the full or partial endorsement of The Empire Club of Canada.

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

"METRO—PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE"

An Address by

FREDERICK G. GARDINER
Chairman, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto

Thursday, October 12, 1961

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: This day—the opening day of the fifty-ninth year of The Empire Club of Canada—has been designated "Frederick G. Gardiner Day" in honour of a life member of this club—not an honourary member but a life member—who has announced his retirement as Chairman of the Municipality of Metro Toronto.

Like Cincinnatus of old, who was called from his plow to take a place of leadership in the government of Rome, Mr. Gardiner was called from his law practice to become Chairman of a new development in municipal government designed to overcome the growing pains in the city of Toronto and the surrounding municipalities. Now, eight years later, Mr. Gardiner proposes to leave this office, and today we pay tribute to the years which he has devoted to public service in this metropolitan city.

Mr. Frederick G. Gardiner, Queen's Counsel, is a graduate in political science from the University of Toronto where he won the Alexander McKenzie Scholarship. He served overseas during World War I with the famous Canadian Mounted Rifles and The Royal Flying Corps. Following the war, he graduated from Osgoode Hall with the Law Society's Gold Medal.

He served as Reeve of the Village of Forest Hill for twelve years and was Warden of the County of York in 1946.

Mr. Gardiner's services to this community, in the field of politics and in other areas of civic welfare, were recognized by the University of Toronto recently when he was granted the degree of Doctor of Laws *honoris causa.*

If democratic forms of government are to be emulated by the newly developing nations, it will be necessary for the old democracies to set better and better examples for these nations. This calls for leadership of a high order and, moreover, it calls for *support* on the part of the people for those who serve in the public interest. I believe that our guest of honour today is one who, perhaps at some personal sacrifice, has served this community in an outstanding way. It is therefore with pride in his achievements, and with gratitude for the example he has set in public service, that I present to you for your recognition—Mr. F. G. Gardiner —who will speak to us on the subject "Metro—Past, Present and Future."

MR. GARDINER: My first word is one of appreciation for the honour you have accorded me by your invitation to address this meeting of The Empire Club of Canada. The first time I addressed this Club was in November of 1953, a few months after I had been appointed Metropolitan Chairman, and when the other twenty-four members of the Metropolitan Council and I had just been presented with a challenge to bring some order out of chaos. At that time we had thirteen locally autonomous municipalities, constituting one of the most rapidly expanding industrial, commercial and financial metropolitan areas on the continent which was grinding to a halt for the want of some form of government that could provide the whole of the area with the services which the whole of the area needed and which it had been proven were impossible of accomplishment under the old system. For the want of a better title, I have indicated that the subject of my address will be "METRO —PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE."

What we find in Toronto is symptomatic of what is going on in every large city in North America. For the last fifteen or twenty years a migration from the country to the city has been taking place so that now two-thirds of the population on the North American continent reside in urban areas.

The result has been a whole series of metropolitan areas, the boundaries of which change upon short notice as they explode in all directions. They ignore geography as they cross rivers, the boundaries of villages, towns, cities, counties and states. There is no more fabulous example of this development than the Metropolitan area now under consideration by the New York Regional Council. Its size and complexity is beyond comprehension. It involves 5,000 square miles; it occupies parts of the states of New Jersey, New York and Connecticut; it has a population of over fifteen million people who live in twenty-two counties, and in over five hundred incorporated municipalities.

Compared to that colossus, Metropolitan Toronto, with an area of 250 square miles, all in one county, with a population of a million and a half, residing in thirteen municipalities, is nothing more than a moderate-sized city that managed to get itself splintered into too many pieces. The development of metropolitan cities is remarkable enough. But there is another evolution going on which has not yet been fully appreciated. This is the creation of what are called "strip developments" which continue for miles as they join up one city after another and weld them together. The most dramatic example of this new development is taking place on the Atlantic seaboard, where there is an almost continuous urbanization from Boston to New York, to Philadelphia, to Wilmington, to Baltimore and to Washington. No one can say where Boston's orbit ends and New York's begins; where the pull of Philadelphia is stronger than that of Wilmington; or where the economic and sociological boundary lies between Baltimore and Washington. An example of this new type of development closer to home is the Golden Horseshoe of industrial development extending for a hundred miles around the north shore of Lake Ontario from Oshawa, to Ajax, to Toronto, to Port Credit and Clarkson, to Oakville, to Bronte and Burlington, to Hamilton, St. Catharines and to Niagara Falls.

The city of the walking man and the horse and buggy was a very small place. The street car spread it out over a wider horizon; the commuter train moved the rich out into the country; and their mansions in the city became the slums of the poor. The market place had to be beside the deep water harbour, the river port, or the railroad. But when the internal combustion engine was installed in a buggy, to start the horseless carriage on its phenomenal journey, the population acquired a new mobility and started one of the most remarkable migrations in the history of man.

The modern stages of this miracle started in 1945, as more and more people desired to leave the confusion of the city and establish their homes in the suburbs where they thought they would be out in the country. Despite this migration, the metropolis has remained the anchor. It is the irresistible magnet; it is where big money, big decisions and big reputations are made; it draws toward it the restless, the energetic and the ambitious who want to be at the centre of things, where opportunity may be just around the corner.

The suburbanites who settled in their split level bungalows and rambling ranch houses for a time felt a sense of security and superiority, as they looked out of their picture windows at the rolling fields where farmer Brown's cattle roamed at pasture—until suddenly they woke up one morning and heard the clank and the growl of the bulldozers tearing up their pastoral view and levelling their rolling fields to accommodate a factory, a shopping centre or a new subdivision, the picture windows of which would peer directly into their own. As this process continues with no sign of abatement, millions of acres of rural land, which can never be returned to the farm or the orchard, are being buried under the streets and roofs of suburbia. They are being replaced by a jungle of poles, wires and asphalt, and a forest of television aerials.

In Toronto about 800,000 people settled in the suburbs. They did so in order to enjoy the gracious living we read about in *Homes and Gardens*, which means that the suburbanite must have two cars, one for the father to get to work, and another to keep the mother from becoming an orphan from everyone except her immediate neighbours. It means that everybody must have a TV, a refrigerator, a deep freezer, an automatic dishwasher and a mortgage that will not be paid off for thirty years.

A salesman was recently trying to sell a young housewife a freezer. Meeting some sales resistance, he told her that she could save the price of the freezer out of what she would save on her food bills. The woman replied, "That is just the trouble. We are already paying for our house out of the money we save on rent. We are paying for our car out of what we save on car fare. We are paying for the washing machine out of what we save on our laundry bills. And for the present, the simple fact is that we just can't afford to save any more money."

We went through a long period of successive attempts to accomplish what was necessary by voluntary intermunicipal agreements. We failed because things had not become sufficiently bad for those who represented our thirteen municipalities to realize that, unless they got up off their seats of the mighty, they might not have any seats left. They had not yet realized that you will never leave your footprints in the sands of time if all you do is sit in your cabana on the beach. As the necessity for certain services required by the whole area became more and more pressing, the City of Toronto sat at the centre of this dynamic area, rich as croesus, and well able to provide its residents with the municipal services they required. The rapidly expanding suburbs, however, struggled against insuperable odds to provide services for their multiplying residents.

It became plain for all to see, whether we liked it or not, or how we struggled to avoid it, that the City needed the suburbs and the suburbs needed the city, that neither could exist without the other. Just as the hundreds of thousands of new residents in the suburbs constituted the essential and expanding market for the goods, wares, merchandise and services of the thriving industrial, commercial and financial institutions in the City, and just as the suburbs provided the work force for the same industrial, commercial and financial institutions, the suburbs also needed the credit of the city to support the borrowings they required to pay for their expanding services. The Toronto and York Planning Board, of which I had the honour to be chairman for five years, tried to solve the problem by co-operative agreements. It was an exercise in frustration. In all that period we never put a steam shovel into the ground or a bulldozer to work. It was not difficult to determine what should be done. You could find a common denominator for what was needed, but you could not find a common denominator as to how the things that should be done would be paid for.

In 1953, after an almost interminable hearing, upon an application by the City of Toronto for amalgamation of the thirteen municipalities into one big City, the Ontario Municipal Board recommended and the provincial government enacted the necessary legislation to establish Metropolitan Toronto. Time does not permit me to explain in detail how our metropolitan government works. But I will give you a brief outline of the situation. "Metro" is charged with the responsibility of providing the thirteen municipalities with those services which are metropolitan in nature, while those services which are local in nature are left to the thirteen local municipalities. The metropolitan corporation is responsible for water supply, sewage disposal, policing, licensing, civil defence, arterial highways, the financing of education, the financing of our rapid transit system, air pollution control, metropolitan parks, certain welfare services, the overall planning of the metropolitan municipality, and many other collateral activities too numerous to mention. The amount which must be raised each year to pay for these services is raised by a levy upon the thirteen individual municipalities. Each municipality pays that amount of the total which is in the same ratio of its total assessment to the aggregate assessment of the entire Metropolitan area.

In order that the metropolitan levies against the thirteen municipalities would be on an equitable basis, the metropolitan corporation has reassessed every individual industrial, commercial and residential property in the whole area, upon precisely the same basis. None of the local municipalities has any power to issue bonds. The reason for this is that it was considered to be in the best interest of every part of the entire area that the capital expenditures, which were necessary both for metropolitan projects, local municipal capital projects, education and rapid transit, should be co-ordinated and financed under one consolidated capital works programme, with the combined credit of all of the municipalities available for that purpose. Incidentally, our capital works programme, which is projected in detail over the next ten years, amounts to about $1 billion, at the rate of about $100 million a year, which is an amount well within our financial capacity and the bounds of reasonable taxation.

The metropolitan council is composed of twenty-five members, divided twelve from the city and twelve—one each—from the twelve suburbs. This is for the reason that the city has about half the population and about half the assessment. In addition to the twenty-four members, there is a Chairman who is elected each year by the Members of the Council.

Perhaps I should now indicate how the plan has succeeded. At a cost of about $60 million, we have doubled our water supply. At a cost of about another $60 million, similar progress has been made with respect to sewage disposal facilities. At a cost of about $175 million, we have built 146 new schools and 203 additions. A $100 million Lakeshore Expressway, and a $50 million Don Valley Parkway, are about half finished, and many other important highway improvements and additions have been completed. The development of several major Metropolitan parks has been undertaken, one of the most important of which is the Toronto Island with its 600 acres, so that we now have about 3,500 acres of natural parkland, and our river valleys are preserved for posterity. We have completed four new homes for the aged, five low-rental elderly persons' housing projects and several subsidized low rental housing projects.

In 1954, the Toronto Transportation Commission completed its first subway. It was five miles long and cost $67 million. It was estimated it would take ten years before it would be running at capacity. After five years it was running at capacity, carrying 40,000 passengers an hour at the peak. And now we have launched, and have well under way, our second east-west subway which will cost about $200 million, and which the metropolitan corporation is subsidizing for one-half of the cost. We have also completed, or have under way, many other collateral undertakings too numerous to mention.

In the process we have found that you have to be a large shareholder in a company known as Patience and Persistence Unlimited; that you have to take a step at a time; that it is just as bad to try to do too much too soon as it is to do too little too late. We found that we must spend many millions of dollars to provide the area with the services it needs. But we recognize that such expenditures are investments in the plant and equipment which this rapidly expanding metropolitan area must have, if it is to remain attractive to industrial and commercial development without which it cannot continue to expand.

I can say without fear of contradiction that we never could have made the progress we have under the old system of thirteen locally autonomous municipalities, all concerned about their sovereign and home rule rights, each trying to carve out its own future without regard to what was happening to its neighbours and without consideration of what were the requirements of the whole area. There has been quite a lot said recently with respect to the future of our metropolitan government—whether it is a permanent form of government, or whether it is just an intermediate step to amalgamation. This may be one of my last opportunities to indicate to you my opinions upon this subject.

Nothing is to be gained by a re-examination of the reasons why the City of Toronto, instead of progressively annexing the suburban areas as they extended, built an Iron Curtain around itself. For a while, the Multiplicity of locally autonomous municipalities, as they splintered off and became separated, did no real damage to the progress of the area. But after 1945, and when the remarkable expansion about which I have spoken started, the development of this very favoured area started to grind itself to a halt. It became obvious that something had to be done to provide the whole area with the major services that I have already described.

The establishment of Metro was dependent in a large measure upon the wisdom of those who could see that, unless we had some better form of municipal government, we could not accomplish what has always been the birth-right of this very favourably located city. It would be monotonous to detail the major metropolitan works which have been completed, or are in progress, which were impossible of accomplishment under the old system, and which are now available for everyone to see as he travels around this area.

As a citizen of this Metropolitan City, I make the categorical statement that there is nothing wrong with our system of metropolitan government, except that—as among the twelve suburban municipalities which each send one representative to the metropolitan council—there is not representation by population and financial interest. When one considers that there are five little municipalities with populations in the neighbourhood of ten thousand to fifteen thousand, each of which has one vote in the council, while there are four other large and rapidly expanding municipalities, having populations from 125,000 to 250,000, which similarly have only one vote each, one cannot say that our system complies with our accepted principle of representation by population and financial interest. To those who say that, by reason of that minor defect the whole system which has worked so well should be scrapped, I say: stop, look, and listen—before you throw a wrench into a well-oiled piece of machinery and build a monument to your stupidity.

The one defect that the metropolitan system of government does not conform to our principle of representation by population and financial interest can be corrected in any one of three ways. The Council can be increased in number so as to give the desired representation. A system of multiple voting for Members of Council can be established to accomplish the same purpose. Or a more evolutionary idea: the establishment of a five-city metropolitan government might be the more logical and reasonable answer.

In that respect I have already made some representations to the Metropolitan Council, which has the matter under consideration and which could be accomplished by taking back, into Etobicoke, Long Branch, New Toronto and Mimico, which is where they came from in the first place; by taking Swansea, Forest Hill Village, Leaside and East York into Toronto; and by taking Weston into North

York. By that means you would accomplish the five cities of Toronto, York, North York, Etobicoke and Scarborough and give them representation by population in a Metropolitan Council with the same powers it now enjoys.

In closing, may I say that, as we face the future, we must always bear in mind that we, who are privileged to be citizens of this great dominion of Canada, live in a country of matchless opportunities for those who have the will and courage to take advantage of them. We should be profoundly grateful for our great heritage, and eager and willing to repay a tithe of what we have received. Or in the words of the recently elected President of the United States, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask rather what you can do for your country."

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Alexander Stark, Q.C.

"ONTARIO—1961"

An Address by

LESLIE M. FROST
Premier of the Province of Ontario

Joint Meeting with the Canadian Club of Toronto

Thursday, October 19, 1961

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Our guest of honour today, the Honourable Leslie M. Frost, Premier of the Province of Ontario, has played a singular and unique part in the development of this province. Perhaps our guest is not unique in that his paternal grandfather took up land near Orillia in the year of Confederation, 1867. Other men's grandfathers have done the same. Nor is he unique in that he served his country overseas in the First World War, although he was wounded by a sniper's bullet in 1918 and spent seventeen months in various military hospitals. Nor could I say that Mr. Frost is unique in that he set up a law practice following graduation from Osgoode Hall.

Mr. Frost's singular contribution began when he entered the legislature in 1937 to become the financial critic on the opposition benches. Later, when he became a cabinet minister in 1943, and finally, when he became Premier in 1949, Mr. Frost undertook his singular role as leader of governments which have directed the extraordinary growth of this province since the Second World War.

Some indication of that growth my be recognized when it is remembered that the ordinary expenditure and capital disbursements in Ontario in the year 1937 totalled about one hundred million dollars. This year's comparable figure is over eleven hundred million dollars. In 1937 the population was more than three and one-half million. Today it is more than six million. That is to say that, while the population has not doubled, the demands for services and other factors have caused the budget to be more than eleven times larger in 1962 than in 1937. This is something for *today's* financial critics to contemplate.

Perhaps part of the political success which Mr. Frost has enjoyed has sprung from his sensitivity to those around him. He has an abiding interest in the history of the pioneer settlers of this province. He is active in the affairs of his home town of Lindsay despite the trend to move to larger urban areas, which is typical of the last decades. He has introduced legislation which aims to provide the same rights and privileges for all classes and peoples. For example, he has introduced legislation giving Indians, the first proprietors of this province, the same voting and other privileges as later arrivals demand for themselves.

Today we salute one who has served his country notably in war and in peace, one whose record will illumine the pages of the history of this province for many years to come, and one whose example of public service will be a guide to the generations that follow.

Gentlemen, I present the Honourable Leslie M. Frost, Premier of the Province of Ontario, who will speak on the subject "Ontario—1961."

MR. FROST: My service in government now goes back over eighteen years, to 1943. In this time, I have served in overlapping periods over twelve years in the Treasurership coupled with the Ministry of Mines and over twelve years in the Premiership. Over that period of time I have had contacts, sometimes very close contacts, with the federal government and all of the provincial governments in Canada. In those first days, Mr. King was Prime Minister of Canada. The prime minister of Nova Scotia was Stirling MacMillan; Prince Edward Island, Walter Jones; New Brunswick, John McNair; Quebec, Adelard Godbout; Ontario, of course, George Drew; Manitoba, Stuart Garson; Saskatchewan, William Patterson; Alberta, Ernest Manning had just succeeded William Aberhart; British Columbia, Jonh Hart. Newfoundland had not come into government heads, ministers of finance and treasurers, and very many other ministers. About all of this I could reminisce endlessly, but I think in the main that these associations are as yet too contemporary.

As I look back over these years the most dramatic and vivid impression I have is the greatly altered situation within and without our country. From my standpoint I can best illustrate this by the economic and social changes which have occurred in Ontario. In this period, our population has risen from 3.9 million to 6¼ million; ¾ of a million workers have been added to our work force. Our living standards have increased by 50%, while the product of industry has been doubled. Our elementary and secondary school enrolment has risen from 625,000 to nearly 1½ million today. Our university population has tripled, and our university family has grown from four to twelve. Highway traffic and development has been spectacular. Our highways are incomparably better than in most jurisdictions in America.

In looking back, one of the outstanding impressions is that government has become tremendously big business. This is true of all the western democracies. Here, in our province, the Premiership has become a tough, exacting executive job, with countless public appearances and speeches and the opening of public works and buildings thrown in for good measure. The days of twenty years ago were placid compared with the exactions of business today. Then the Treasury Board existed in name only. Today its work has become enormous. The emanations of government add to this picture. The gross income of various Commissions is over $800 million dollars a year. Ontario Hydro has a revenue income of about $230 million a year; the Ontario Hospital Services Commission, which came into being 2½ years ago, has an operating income of about $296 million this year. Then there are the Workmen's Compensation Board, Ontario Food Terminal, Ontario Stock Yards, the Ontario Northland Railway, the Liquor Control Board and others. All of these involve matters of policy and direction. This growth all adds up to the fact that Ontario and Canada need your services. The problems of Ontario in this day require and deserve your very best. I have had

Confederation. During all of this time, I have dealt with business men and others say that, despite their personal wishes, they felt it necessary to forego public service because of the possibility of conflict of interest. These men are among those most highly qualified. Service in the Legislature or on one of the Commissions or with a Municipality involves an enormous sacrifice. Still, if we in the western democracies are to stand up to competition elsewhere, then we must have in governments and serving governments the very best in business, labour and science. I can say, after almost a lifetime in various public services, that it is rewarding in satisfaction. I can say to young men, in words reminiscent of long ago, "your country needs you," and you cannot, in all conscience, pass these challenges by. I have mentioned boards and commissions. I may say that, with all of the drawbacks which we must guard against, as witnessed by the findings of the Gordon, Mackintosh, Magone enquiry on Government Organization in Ontario, they are a very necessary part of government. They offer to us, in a now highly competitive world, not only the possibility of obtaining the services of leaders in business, industry, labour, science, agriculture and learning but, as well, the benefits of industrial organization and methods which simply do not form part of the traditional scheme of parliamentary government and civil service.

Each year, indeed almost each day, brings about its own set of problems. Indeed in a broad sense, because of a changing world and a rapidly growing and developing country, nothing is ever settled. In a broad sense we must never be satisfied. We have constantly to search for betterment. There is a vast difference between government today and that of twenty years ago.

The period which I mention has witnessed some very startling changes indeed. I have mentioned the growth of our school population—which for years was static at around about 600,000. By the mid 60's it will be 1,800,000, thus presenting to our province its greatest single challenge. Education costs in my first budget totalled a little over $13 million. Today, eighteen years after, they are something of the order of $250 million; our universities alone require three times as much as the entire cost of education eighteen years ago. The cost of education is so huge that the first full year's revenue from the 3% sales tax will only pay about half of the Province's bill, which will continue to rise. To meet education and health costs, the province simply has to have the $150 million provided by the sales tax, whether the mode of raising it is changed or not. What are the facts? We have a huge land area with a small population. The utmost of every man and woman is required. A Grade 10 or 2nd Form education is no longer adequate. We have to train our young people to live in a new world and age, with all of its requirements. Material resources cannot be developed without human resources. Education, therefore, is one of the fundamentals which we must meet even if we have to pull in our belts in many other things—if our way of life is to stand up to Communism. The treatment of this matter, which was fairly simple a score of years ago, has now become an enormous problem.

We have witnessed a tremendous change in the power picture. Some twenty years ago there were those who still spoke of unneeded power. By the late 40's and early 50's it appeared that our growth and development was going to be seriously affected by limitations of power resources. Indeed, the expiration of the Quebec power contracts in 1970 looked awesome. This situation has been entirely changed because of a five-fold increase in electric power capacity and by bringing natural gas from Western Canada. Time does not permit me to tell of the intricacies of the negotiations which commenced about ten years ago but which had their root in the power shortages of the late 40's. Today Western Canada is adding to our power potential, and our homes and industry are being serviced by this commodity. In my opinion this fact, which as yet has not been properly assessed, will be rated as a great contribution to Canadian independence. I am glad to have been associated with the accomplishment of the use of Canadian gas and oil for Canadian purposes.

The other great change in the power situation, of course, is nuclear energy. Within a short time, some 300,000 h.p. of energy will be going into our power grid from nuclear sources. This has been brought about by a federal–provincial partnership involving Atomic Energy of Canada Limited and Ontario Hydro linked with Canadian General Electric. It would do your hearts good to see the work being done in the Peterborough plant of the Canadian General Electric in applying uranium with its power potential to the ways of peace and to the betterment of people and their way of life. Here is one of the largest and best-equipped commercial nuclear development centres in America. This is one of many projects which are evidence of Canadian engineering skill and achievement and that helps to create the climate for future expansion.

In Ontario the expansion of manufacturing and processing industries is the major need of the future. On expansion and productivity everything depends and, at present, these are worrying problems. There is general agreement as to the cause. The resurgence of production in Europe and Japan, aided by favourable exchange rates, has greatly increased competition at home and abroad. Added to this are the more discretionary buying habits of our own people, the intensified use of labour-saving machinery, the rise of Canadian production costs and the rather sluggish rate of growth of the United States. All of these have operated in one way or another to effect a slackening in production and, therefore, an increase of unemployment. I am delighted at the news of trade missions to all parts of the world, and the indications that the Canadian people are adapting themselves to changing world conditions. This is of vital interest to us here in Ontario.

In some world markets we have done exceptionally well. A drawback, however, is that this trade improvement has occurred in capital-intensive rather than labour-intensive industries. Our productivity has increased because of the installation of modern labour-saving machinery. Prodigious quantities of consumer goods have become available. The sellers' market, which existed after the middle 40's, has been converted by expanded capacities and production into a buyers' market. As a result, the rise in physical output has not absorbed the full growth in the work force.

Our policy of the last fifteen years has been based on economic expansion and development. It is on this that we have soundly premised our 50% rise in living standards.

I say now that the emphasis in the future has to be on economic expansion and development. One of my lieutenants has said that you cannot separate freedom from economics. I would add that you cannot separate the standard of living from economics. To put it bluntly, if we are to provide for increased human betterment, we have to work for it.

There are bright signs on the horizon. There has been a considerable acceleration of Ontario's economic activity since the beginning of the year. Economic indicators are going up. We are at the peak of industrial production. Fifty thousand more workers now have jobs in Ontario than a year ago, while unemployment is down to the lowest level in the last two years. The maintenance of a high rate of growth is, however, a continuing task, as 1971 will see Ontario's labour force increased by about 600,000 workers. Our success will depend partly on understanding what our problems are and the alternative means of action that are open to us. I am convinced that there is no single or simple solution. The approach has to be many sided.

We are going to have to intensively plan and ever look forward. In this respect we have taken positive steps. The Advisory Committee on Economic Development, consisting of men of wide experience in business, labour and government, has been created. The business and labour side of this Committee is chaired by Mr. O.D. Vaughan; the technical, government side by Mr. George Gathercole. This is the outcome of our studies of the work of the Productivity Council in the United Kingdom which we made last spring and which we have very much included in the programme now tentatively in operation.

The economic blueprint for the future will I think, include some of the following considerations.

1. We must evolve better trading relations with our American friends. We are their best customers and should be treated as such. The present balance of payments situation, whereby we fiance imports from the United States by importing capital and selling more to other countries than they sell to us, cannot be maintained indefinitely. I think this must be recognized in our Canadian–United States relationships. The solution is not the task of governments alone.

The role of businessmen is of supreme importance. On one hand, we should recognize the importance of our business relations with our American neighbours. They have made an impressive contribution to our industrial development. On the other hand, the people next door must recognize the common-sense and wisdom of arrangements that will enable Canada to meet its obligations by buying more from us. Every argument is in favour of this course.

2. We must take full advantage of the developments in Europe. We must be concerned over the advantages and disadvantages which may arise from the entry of Britain into the European Economic Community. Of course, we should bargain and negotiate to secure the most favourable terms and conditions. On the other hand, we must remember that we are living in a new world. We shall have to cushion the economy as far as possible against adverse impacts, and, as well, step out and make those adjustments which are essential if we are to reap what are no doubt the long-term advantages of such integration. Trade blocs are going to be more than just a passing phase. I suggest that it might be well for you to read Clarence Streit's book of the 1940's *Union Now*. The Atlantic community is now right in focus. There are very interesting possibilities in world trade for alert business and industry which is prepared to assess our situation accurately and take full advantage of the opportunities.

3. There is the problem of obtaining lower unit costs through specialization. In days of talk of an expanded common market, we are faced with the immediate problem of a limited market. While the assurance that the public interest is adequately protected by preventing restrictive trade practices is necessary, we should make perfectly sure that combines legislation should not discriminate against industry simply on the basis of size. Industry is going to have to dovetail operations to achieve greater specialization and, therefore, lower unit costs. In Canada and the United States, we follow the Theodore Roosevelt "big stick" policy of 1904. While we are doing this, other competing countries are actively engaged in expanding government-fostered combines to compete in our own markets. In this highly competitive world, the plain fact is that an excessive num-

ber of firms tend to cause the fractioning of the market with higher costs of production and no doubt higher consumer prices. This is not an easy problem to solve. What I have said is, I know, controversial, but it is a problem in the world of 1961 that we have to face up to.

4. We have taken steps, particularly in the area of secondary education and its vocational emanations, to provide for the higher adaptability of workers required by the swift changes occurring in industrial processes. We must devote greater attention to education and research. Business and industry can make a significant contribution to the optimum development of our resources by undertaking surveys of what their needs for technical skills will be over the coming years. One of the problems of mass education, which is costing astronomic millions of dollars, is the danger of indiscriminately providing technical and trade courses for the development of skills for which the future may find little need.

5. As a great industrial province, we have to be aware of pricing ourselves out of world markets. Price stability and cost of living are, of course, of great importance in our country. Moreover, very much of our standard of living and our way of life depends upon our export possibilities. If our costs rise, we may easily lose competitive advantage and our production and employment are arrested. I have not time to elaborate on this beyond saying that studies of the United Kingdom Productivity Council indicate the extent to which they are concerned with this problem overseas. The Productivity Council idea is very largely premised on the idea of management and labour examining together the problems of production and sale which are fundamentally essential to the position of both. The Council in Canada, headed by Mr. George De Young, perhaps can provide the method by which management-labour relations can be examined in the light of present conditions. There must be understanding and reasonableness on both sides and also the development of down-to-earth responsibility. Again, looking back over the last eighteen years, our advances in human betterment have been premised fundamentally on a substantial rise in real income per capita, resulting from our increased productivity. By all odds, this

is the key to the future. We must expand and develop our heritage, which really is without limit. We must recognize that the fruits of our progress must be earned by hard work, development and expansion. You will observe that I have said nothing so far about tariffs to limit the inroads on our domestic market by foreign manufacturers. Demands for increased protection are, in some cases, not without justification. However, a flexible policy is required based on the recognition that, as one of the highest per capita trading areas in the world, Canada and Ontario need exports above everything else.

In conclusion, may I say that it is necessary here in Ontario and in Canada to face the future with confidence and optimism. With such an attitude, oft-times problems are solved overnight. Canadians should cultivate the science and art of human relations. This is a field in which we can play a useful part and help to make up in influence what we lack in population. Please remember that the answer to the atomic bomb is in human personality and that indescribable thing called common sense. There are very many ways in which we can contribute to the promotion of economic development by cultivating the art and science of human relations.

This country, of which Ontario is such a vital part, is wonderfully blessed. We have the ingredients for a rich and rewarding future, provided we have drive, enthusiasm, courage and imagination. The great lesson of the last fifteen or twenty years is that we can do things and that our country is only in the beginnings of its possibility. Our objective in the years ahead must be to surpass anything we have done. Strong and waywardly blow the winds of change. With the adaptability which I believe stands out in Canadians, we can anticipate, formulate and implement policies which will not only cushion their effects, but take advantage of the trade winds and other favourable winds. Despite contrary assessments made of my various campaigns, I have never "run on my record." I only regarded "record' as a step in the road of progress. Each year brings its own set of problems. Today's problems are different from those of a dozen years ago, and tomorrow's will be quite different from those of today. I am confident, however, that we here in Ontario, in common with all Canadians, will respond to the challenges ahead with the same ingenuity, enterprise and courage which our people have shown throughout our history.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Morgan Reid, President, The Canadian Club of Toronto.

"CHALLENGE FROM THE AMERICAS"

S. J. RANDALL
President, General Steel Wares Limited

Thursday, October 26, 1961

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Our speaker today is Mr. S. J. Randall, President and Managing Director of General Steel Wares Limited, the largest indepent manufacturer of Canadian appliances and housewares in this country, with an annual sales volume of forty million dollars. Mr. Randall is also First Vice-President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

The federal government is now urging Canadian manufacturers to find markets abroad. Mr. Randall plunged into the export markets two years ago, and this year it is calculated that he will do one million dollars worth of business in twenty foreign countries.

Our speaker was born in Toronto and received his schooling here. He began his business career at the age of twenty, when he joined the Easy Washing Machine Company as a junior clerk in 1928. He became President of this company and later merged with General Steel Wares in September 1958 to take the prominent position in his field which he occupies today. Mr. Randall speaks with an enviable background of experience and knowledge on the subject, "Challenge From the Americas". Gentlemen, Mr. S. J. Randall.

MR. RANDALL: Thank you, Chairman, for your kind remarks, and I do appreciate the opportunity of being invited to address your members.

Before embarking on the topic "Challenge From the Americas," perhaps I should suggest to you that the prime purpose of merchandising is to find people who have a need for what you have to offer. A few months ago I was privileged to address the Canadian Netherlands Council on the subject "Prospecting for Needers." At that time I pointed out that our Company had become interested in the European market and the U.K. particularly after my visit there in March of 1960 to the Ideal Home Show.

We displayed all of our Company's major appliances including warm air heating and, while I could see a tremendous need for the use of our warm air heating appliances both in gas and oil, the domestic sale of automatic washing machines, in view of the lack of water pressures in the homes, and the space in which to house these larger type washers, made the sale of this appliance somewhat doubtful. In view of this I thought housing conditions, particularly in the crowded tenement sections, lent itself to automatic coin laundry stores, and our Company embarked on a program of first setting up these stores in England and then branching into other countries. At the moment, we have five stores opened in the U.K. and another thirteen or fourteen under construction by various independent owners who we hope will be in operation before the end of this year. I might also add that we have opened four stores in Holland, and there are another six under construction which will be opened by the first of the year. In both of these countries we were told that automatic coin laundry stores would not be acceptable, but we have proven once more that if people have a NEED, and we provide the services to look after that need, they will accept an innovation.

We have had to change our machines to suit the useres and also adapt the mechanics and electronics of these machines to these new countries. They have been most successful so far, and the income from these stores is beyond everything we anticipated. In warm air heating we are just getting under way with oil fired furnaces, and we hope to have our gas fired furances approved by the Gas Authorities in the next few weeks. Fortunately for us, both the oil and gas utilities are battling it out neck and neck to capture the consumers service so that, if we provide them with the ammunition, I am quite sure we will not only render a great service to the residents of the U.K., who certainly need heating above all other appliances and all other comforts, but we should be able to make a dollar in the process.

The reason I pointed out these two examples of merchandising in foreign markets is to make it abundantly clear that, if your product does not fit the market as it does in your own domestic area, perhaps you should see what other ways it can be adapted for use in other lands. Certainly if we had assumed the sale of automatic washing machines was not possible in the U.K. and returned home after our first visit, we would not be enjoying the volume of business which is now becoming considerable and, would have missed the opportunity to share in what we believe is going to become one of the greatest consumer markets anywhere in the world. That is the markets of the "Outer Seven" and the "Inner Six" which, one of these days as you well know, may be joined, and covers an area with a population of close to three hundred million people.

Prospecting for needers could well be the aim of all companies in foreign markets whether they be abroad or at home. Great economic changes are taking place today in Europe, and in these changes perhaps Canada will suffer in the shuffle if we don't prepare. It is obvious competition in these markets is not going to lessen as production is stepped up and the consumer market becomes saturated, such as it has in North America since World War II. When this happens, it is necessary, of course, to cut prices, build bigger and better mouse traps and sell a great deal harder in order to get your fair share of the market—and with competition breathing down your neck, morning, noon and night. Sometimes it's like a breath of fresh air to look at a foreign market. Even with its obstacles—and there are many—you can widen your scope of the market for your company's products.

Many years ago I took a course on modern business, and the statement that sold me on doing so was "Prepare Yourself for Opportunity." It seemed to me this was a good motto for most people to follow, and particularly for one, who had left school at an early age and lacked an academic background so necessary to grow with business opportunities.

In the matter of world trade, markets which are uncertain and always will be, I believe we should spread our risks of losing these markets by participating in as many as are left open to us. Certainly with trading blocks being formed around the world in Latin and South America, Europe, Russia and the Communist blocks, it is difficult to imagine what trading problems will arise over the next five or ten years. Accordingly, our company policy, and I must admit it stems particularly from my own feelings in the matter, is that we should endeavour to get a toe-hold wherever we can, and hang on as long as we can, until we find out which way the wind is blowing. With population explosions taking place all over the universe, and the merging nations merging almost daily like mushrooms in a hothouse, anyone interested in export is somewhat like the mosquito in the nudist colony. "He knows what he has to do but just doesn't know where to begin." I do believe, however, we in Canada should look to the Americas if we are fulfill a glorious destiny for Canada, promised by many of our prominent forecasters, and that is the theme of my talk "Challenge From the Americas."

I was privileged to attend the Inter-American Trade Industries Conference held in Chicago in July as spokesman for the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, along with Mr. Joe Jeffries, President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, who led their delegation. The theme of this conference was "World Peace Through World Trade." I believe this was an appropriate theme, particularly in view of the fact it seems unlikely any nation would embark on a shooting war in view of the terrible reprisals that could be exacted, not only on those who start, but those who finish a nuclear war. In view of this, it is also reasonable to assume you don't get too mad at a good customer, or at least not so mad that you wipe him out and thereby lose the opportunity of trading on a profitable basis. May I say that in visiting Chicago I was pleased and privileged to spend almost a week in the new Trade Building, called McCormick Place, on Lake Michigan. This building was originated by industrialists in Chicago. The Trade Show was sponsored by over thirty national governments to permit consumer tests on imports of products in an American department store setting. Certainly they lived up to this billing, and McCormick Place is undoubtedly one of the finest trading centres of its kind. It can handle over thirty thousand arrivals each hour, and exhibit and service areas total one million square feet. The exhibit area alone is three hundred thousand square feet, all on one floor, and the building is completely air conditioned. It was built at a cost of approximately thirty-five million dollars, to sell America.

Local manufacturers expressed somewhat mixed feelings with regard to the activities of McCormick Place. I talked to a number of industrialists from Chicago, and they felt it was bad enough to have to compete with imported goods, but worse if a thirty-five million dollar market place for industry was provided to beat their brains out. However, it does seem like a good idea to develop international trade and perhaps lower some of the restrictive walls on trade which have been built up, particularly in the United States, against all types of imports. Certainly Canada recognizes the difficulty of shipping to the United States, and I am sure we are not alone in this.

There were delegates to the Conference from all over the Americas, including industrialist, economists, bankers, government representatives and representatives of trade associations such as ourselves. The Trade Show itself was well set up, and the most active participants appeared to be the Japanese and Yugoslavs, the Poles and particularly the West Germans, who had a large display. The Volkswagen Company went out of its way to point out in no uncertain terms that they had purchased fifty million dollars worth of capital goods from the United States in 1960. In so doing they were indicating to the American Tradesman and the American public, that they were entitled to a share of the American consumer dollar in the automotive field. There were speakers from all countries, and they chose their words very carefully. But, with few exceptions, they regard the future with alarm for the plight of their people. In practically all instances their countries had a deficit trading balance with the United States and, like Canada, the sixty-four dollar question was how to solve the trading balance deficit which seemed to be the major problem if their domestic markets were to be maintained on a healthy basis.

Again I would suggest that perhaps the reason for their trading deficits was that they were never taken seriously as an industrial nation, similar to our position in Canada for so many years. For too many years the U.S.A. considered we were wheat farmers and fishermen, and it ignored our growing manufacturing industry. Just so long as any country as large as the United States ignores the fact its neighbours on this continent are also interested in building up their secondary industry, there will be a dificit in trading balances and a very unhealthy economic pattern in the future for all these countries.

We are all aware that Canada's inbalance of trade, particularly with the United States, is one of the largest in the world. We have been going in the hole at the rate of one billion dollars annually. While I regard myself as an exporter and have proven it the hard way, I have little sympathy for those who criticise the steps we have had to take to solve our present economic dilemma. There is a great deal of criticism about the reduction in the premium on the dollar. I believe this has been a saviour insofar as our Canadian economy is concerned. We should not be too concerned now with the dollar being discounted, in view of the long run the premium has had. This definitely reduced the effectiveness of our tariff barriers, particularly on imports from the United States.

We have also witnessed the fight put up in the Senate with regard to the "Class or Kind" legislation. In my estimation this is a very sad state of affairs for this country, when the Senate, dominated by the opposition, kills legislation that is so essential to amend tariff iniquities that have too long retarded manufacturing opportunities in Canada because of obsolescence.

Perhaps no country in the world has been as generous with its domestic market as has Canada. Our foreign exporters have taken full advantage of the weaknesses in our tariff structure to exploit this market for all it is worth. We do not believe we should build up fences to prevent international trade, but certainly we should operate on an equal basis with that imposed on Canadian imports with all other countries. At the moment this is not the case.

After presenting our addresses in Chicago, Mr. Jeffries and myself were accosted by many of the various delgates from Latin and South American countries. They wanted to compare their country's problems with Canada's and find out how we solved ours and still maintained, what to them, is a very healthy economy. Most of them felt Canada presented the type of economy they should be planning for and wanted to know what we could do to help work out their future, in our mutual interest. Of course they were also somewhat mystified as to why Canada had not joined the organization of American States, and what would have to be done to get us to take a greater interest in the Americas. We, of course, were not representing the Canadian government. We have our own opinions as to why Canada has not taken this step, but were not in any position to discuss this with any degree of intelligence. On the other hand, it is a matter which is uppermost in the minds of most of the people we talked to from the Americas, and perhaps our government, one of these days, will have to take a second look.

After listening very carefully to the various speakers, and judging for ourselves the problems of the Americas, we certainly can feel very sympathetic towards the United States for the tremendous challenge they have accepted as outlined by President Kennedy in his "Alliance For Progress" program at Bogota during the latter part of July. Perhaps one of the greatest problems to overcome in the Americas is the instability of government, whether it be democratic or disguised democratic governments under dictatorship. Countries that certainly should be understood by us, such as Mexico, Paraguay, Argentina, Dominican Republic, Brazil, Venezuela and Cuba, make one hesitate to jump in with both feet and take on any commitments under present day circumstances. Most of these countries we have recognized in the past and some now are still almost governed as a policed state. Certainly Cuba, Dominican Republic and Paraguay give every evidence of being nothing else but. Brazil, since our meeting in July, as you are well aware, changed its form of government, and great apprehension is felt by industrialists in that country for the future of Brazil.

It is obvious President Kennedy's program of pumping five hundred million dollars into a co-operative program of social progress for Latin America is only a drop in the bucket to what is going to be required to eliminate what has been referred to, in his speech, as social injustice, poverty, illiteracy, squalor and disease in Latin America. There are proposals now before the administration for a total of one billion two hundred and fifty million dollars. You can readily see that five hundred million is not going to go too far. President Kennedy described this as a region of vital importance to the United States and the area with the fastest population growth anywhere in the world. If it means that much to the United States, I am quite sure Canadians should also be more aware of their stake in the Americas.

Perhaps to better understand the reason behind this new awareness of our many neighbours to the South, may I quote the following? "On March 13th, 1961, President Kennedy enunciated a call for an Alliance for Progress with our neighbours from Latin America. The following day he asked Congress to appropriate five hundred million dollars for a co-operated program for social progress for Latin America. This request to Congress was for the purpose of putting into effect the five hundred million dollar program recommended by President Eisenhower and authorised by congress in December of 1960. More specifically, it was a call to the American people to translate into action the Historic act of Bogota, adopted by nineteen American States in September, 1960—an act which called for a bold new venture to bring long-overdue and desperately needed social progress to the people of Latin America.

Now what is this new program for social progress? May I, at the risk of boring you, quote some statistics which I believe you will find as interesting and as challenging as I have found them? The per capita gross national product of just some of the countries in the Americas, compared to that of the United States, are as follows:

United States	$2,700	Brazil	210
Latin America	280	Guatemala	172
Argentina	2,372	Haiti	67
Colombia	243	Bolivia	55

Is it any wonder, after reading these figures, the masses lack the essentials of day-to-day necessities, let alone have consumer buying power? In the matters of life expectancy:

United States	70 years	Brazil	45 years
Latin America	46 years	Guatemala	57 years
Argentina	59 years	Haiti	33 years
Colombia	46 years	Bolivia	50 years

Doctors per one hundred thousand people is a very interesting analysis:

United States	135	Brazil	48
Latin America	54	Guatemala	13
Argentina	128	Haiti	9
Colombia	34	Bolivia	25

Even before these people can become consumers, the grim reaper takes over. If they had money, it would be an undertaker's paradise.

It is very difficult to sell people if they don't read or write. Illiteracy in these countries as compared to the United States—the figures are as follows:

United States	2%	Brazil	51%
Latin America	43%	Guatemala	70%
Argentina	14%	Haiti	90%
Colombia	38%	Bolivia	69%

How can we educate people to a higher standard of living if they can neither read nor write? It is illiteracy that assists the "isms" to make such a terrific headway? Already our Communist friends have found this out and are using it to great advantage. (And you know what the definition of a Communist is: it's a guy who has nothing and wants to share it with everybody.)

I had an industrial friend visit me from Mexico a few weeks ago. He told me the Communists had stopped handing out literature. They were now passing out, to the peasant people, shoes, pants and shirts and other articles of clothing. This they could understand, even though they couldn't read or write. Perhaps we should take a leaf out of the Communist book and follow suit. If you cannot read or write, but you can see, feel and believe, literature from any source in these areas is as useless as an anchor to a drowing man. Better we follow the Communist pattern if we can't conceive a better one. In these areas, also, Russia has given or promised two hundred and fifty million dollars to Cuba; one hundred and four million in credits to Argentina; three and a half million to Brazil; offered credits of one hundred and fifty million dollars to Bolivia; and the Czechs have offered long term credits to Ecuador. They are in there not only with their propaganda but also with their money. Now what is the population growth in the Americas, and why shouldn't we take a look at this market instead of worrying too much about the markets over seas that are going to be very competitive, as I mentioned earlier?

The population growth estimated from 1960 to 1970 is as follows: Latin America 29% (They now have a population of 204 million, and this will reach 263 million in 1970, or an increase in 10 years of 59 million people right here on our own Continent.); United States (The population growth is estimated at 13%, or 181 million today to 205 million in 1970, an increase of 24 million.); Western Europe, excluding Greece and Turkey (The estimated population growth will be 6% in ten years, or 307 million today to 341 million in 1970, or an increase of 24 million.); The United Soviet Republic (The population growth will be 19% in the same period, or from 214 million to 254 million, or an increase of 40 million.). *But in the area in which we can do business there will be 107 million more consumers in the markets available to us, excluding Russia over the next ten years.* From these figures it is obvious that, if President Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" program is concentrated in all countries on the development and improvement of living standards for the youth of tomorrow, *we will have a greater mass market for consumer goods than could ever exist in crowded Europe.*

Fidelism, Communism or socialism in the Americas will gain much of its strength from the land reform programs instituted by Castro in Cuba, if immediate action is not taken under President Kennedy's program. This is the torch by which the masses will be led along the lines of any kind of an "ism," including Americanism or North Americanism, if the "Alliance For Progress" campaign is now wholeheartedly supported and successful. Castro's magic is free land—this is what many believe to be the key to converting the masses from apathy to revolution—and I don't mean a bloody revolution, but a great social and political change. Millions of these people are living in mud and tin huts and in mountain caves, despite the fact there are millions of acres of land available for development. Here is some of the estimated acreage available for useful production: Guatemala (only two tenths of one percent of the number of farms account for 40% of the privately owned acreage); Chile (only one percent of the farm operators control 43% of the land and yet poverty is unlimited; the estimated area available for agriculture is staggering); Argentina (119 million acres are available for the people); Bolivia (124 million); Brazil, excluding the Amazon Basin (494 million acres); Colombia (44 million); Ecuador (20 million); Mexico (54 million); Peru (37 million); Venezuela (25 million).

Certainly you don't have to take away from the rich in order to give to the poor; if the poor are given the tools, they too can develop the land which is available. Even an agricultural program to feed the hungry millions in these countries, without industrial production such as we know must come, could create millions of new consumers. If these people could get enough of the daily necessities of life, they would become consumers almost overnight. It is obvious the Agrarian reform program instituted by Fidel Castro, and now undergoing considerable analysis by all governments in South America, is going to have a lasting effect on the futures of these people.

Now, in conclusion, may I make these observations for what they are worth. While we may advise or criticise the United States in her efforts, or lack of effort in some instances, we Canadians should realize, that whatever happens on this Continent to the United States *does not affect the United Kingdom, France or other Commonwealth countries particularly, but does affect the future of Canada.* Whether we like it or not, we are part of the Americas and one day must stand up and be counted. We have a fertile field in the Americas to sell Americanism and Canadianism —or North Americanism, if you want to put it that way. I don't believe the great consumer markets of tomorrow lie in Europe entirely—there are others much closer to home, and if we make our influence felt now we can look for unlimited trading opportunities in the future.

We must choose carefully the countries we can help and, like the United States, Canada must endeavour to help educate these people industrially and socially, by action and not words or donations of money. We cannot use the Canadian or American taxpayers' money to support or create a police state—such as Cuba, Dominica or what they have had in the Argentine under Peron, in Venezuela and Paraguay under General Straussers. To do this we must send trade delegations to find out how we can help create consumers in providing means by which these nations can become industrially self-sufficient—developing tomorrow's consumer in these countries, as we would develop a new product for our own domestic market. We need to send technicians, engineers and consultants and men of industry with vision—men who can case the joint, if you want to use the vernacular of the underworld, to illustrate and develop products in those markets that fit those markets.

If we are to maintain our way of life in Canada, and show others it is a better way of life for them, *then we must do so by creating consumers by creating jobs.* Their exports to us in the future would be nothing to absorb, if we developed through industry, the vast domestic markets that are available in the Americas. The success of any country is a healthy dynamic domestic market. Just as Canada cannot live on wheat and pulp wood, these Southern neighbours cannot live on coffee, sugar, soya beans, oil and basket-weaving.

What we have done in Canada industrially over the past few decades can certainly be duplicated in the countries of our neighbours to the South, who I know would welcome Canada—as our type of BIGNESS does not scare them—it *inspires them.* They feel that our industrial achievement can be attained by them. As I suggested earlier, it was my privilege to speak, a few months ago, to the Canadian Netherlands Council, and the topic of that address was "Prospecting for Needers." I have not changed my opinion even one little bit with the small measure of success our company has enjoyed in Europe. I am more than ever convinced that greater and more fertile fields for Canadian Trade and Commerce lie in the Americas.

President Kennedy has said this can be the "Magic Moment" for all the Americas if the "Alliance For Progress" program is successful. Canada is at the cross-roads in International Trade. Competition will be even more difficult to meet from highly industrialized countries in the future. Perhaps if we also accept the "Challenge From The Americas", this could be the magic moment for Canada to share in what someday will be the largest consumer market in the world.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Arthur Inwood.

“GERMANY: THE ANATOMY OF A CRISIS”

An Address by

DR. ROBERT SPENCER
University of Toronto

Thursday, November 2, 1961

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: When the second world war ended in 1945, the Allies agreed that Germany should be divided and occupied by the victors. The city of Berlin lay well within the part of Germany occupied by the Russians, but it was agreed that Berlin, the capital city, should be occupied by four powers—Great Britain, U.S.A., France and the U.S.S.R. On this small perch inside East Germany, the three Western powers have roosted more or less uncomfortably ever since. Today, because of the tensions which have arisen, we have the spectacle of a modern city divided by a wall through the middle to prevent people moving back and forth. An extraordinary state of affairs indeed.

To tell us something about this situation, we are fortunate to have as our speaker today Dr. Robert Spencer, who has just returned from a year's sabbatical leave in Germany, during which Dr. Spencer travelled over the Federal Republic, visited East Germany and made an extended stay in Berlin. Dr. Spencer, who comes to Toronto by way of McGill and Oxford, has been teaching European history at the University of Toronto since 1950 with increasing emphasis on German history. He has made half a dozen visits to Germany over the past decade and has collaborated in writing a book entitled *The Shaping of Post War Germany*, by McInnis, Hiscocks and Spencer. He is also a co-editor of the *International Journal* and a contributor to *The Canadian Annual Review.*

Just now, when Berlin is the focal point of the dispute which has had something to do with the recent series of nuclear explosions, we are pleased to welcome Dr. Spencer who will speak on the subject, "Berlin—The Anatomy of a Crisis".

DR. SPENCER: It is hardly novel to say that Berlin has involved the world in a crisis of frightening proportions. Though Europeans do not in general view it in the alarmist fashion represented by black headlines in Toronto newspapers, it is difficult to remain unmoved by the picture of American and Russian tanks training their guns on each other across nothing more substantial than a chalk line on the pavement. To suggest what lies behind this crisis—to attempt to meet the implications of my ambitious title—I want briefly to recapitulate the background.

The present crisis has its roots in wartime policies: in the acceptance of the formula of unconditional surrender, in the rejection of the idea of partition of a defeated Germany in favour of total occupation; and especially in the plans for occupation zones worked out and approved by the major allies in wartime. This agreement was reached not, as is so often suggested, at Potsdam (the Potsdam Agreement barely mentions the word Berlin), but before the end of 1944, and it had been formally approved by the allied powers before the Yalta Conference assembled early in 1945. There had been relatively little difficulty in reaching agreement and, although the territory assigned to the Soviet Union brought Russian power to within one hundred miles of the Rhine, the division was hardly generous in view of the Soviet war effort and the enormous damage and sufferings inflicted on the U.S.S.R. It was inevitable that Berlin should play a special part in the occupation arrangements. Though only the capital of the Reich for seventy years, it was the centre from which Nazism had directed its twelve-year rule of misdeeds—though the city, incidentally, had the best anti-Nazi voting record of any non-Catholic area in Germany. The wartime agreements provided for a joint occupation of Berlin by forces of the four major allies, with its government in the hands of a Kommandantura consisting of representatives of the commanders-in-chief. When Allied forces moved into Berlin at the beginning of July, 1945, their presence was underwritten by wartime agreements and by the total defeat of Germany: there are no grounds whatever for suggesting that the West is in Berlin simply by courtesy of the Soviet Union. The legal basis of the Allied presence in Berlin is sound; though it is, of course, idle to pretend that legal rights can, in the end, prevail over power realities. Nor is anything to be gained by criticizing, with the wisdom of hindsight, the failure to secure explicit written guarantees covering free access to Berlin from the west. In wartime conferences, the Russians repeatedly insisted that the presence of western forces "of course" carried with it all the necessary rights of access. And, in any event, it is less the occupation arrangements than the failure of the east-west harmony on which they were predicated that is responsible for the present crisis.

At the second meeting of the Allied Kommandantura, there took place an incident which, little noticed at the time, was destined to have far-reaching consequences. On July 7, 1945, the Soviet Commander announced that Soviet provisioning of the city would soon terminate, and requested as well that coal should be brought in from the Ruhr. This, at the outset, placed responsibility for the economy of the western sectors of the city on the western powers. It led to the emergence of west Berlin as a separate economic area, tied to the economy of the western zones. It meant that the first decisive step in splitting the city was the result of a Soviet action.

Four-power control functioned but briefly; the critical stage in its breakdown was the blockade of 1948-49. By the time it was lifted, and communications with the west returned to normal, the city administration had been divided in two. From now on two worlds confronted each other across the Potsdamer Platz and the Brandenburger Tor. The virtually unconditional lifting of the blockade was a serious defeat for Soviet policy; to this the airlift had made a spectacular and unexpected contribution. But Soviet discomfiture also owed greatly, perhaps decisively, to the stubbornness of the Berliners, without whose backing the western position in Berlin would have been untenable. This point is well worth underlining at a time when, in the face of the challenge from the east, the importance of West Berlin is often so casually, and so callously, downgraded.

With the lifting of the blockade, a divided Berlin lay in the heart of a divided Germany. Rival German governments emerged in the Berlin suburb of Pankow and in Bonn; eastern and western zones were gradually absorbed into rival defence systems. The progressive hardening of the line of division from the Baltic to the Czech frontier, especially after the Federal Republic entered NATO in 1955, meant the increasingly precarious isolation of West Berlin. Separated from the democratic west by one hundred and ten miles of hostile territory, through which all save one per cent of its supplies—from milk to building materials—must come, it none the less prospered.

And within the divided city freedom of movement across the sector boundary survived, as did important elements of four-power control, such as the Berlin Air Safety Centre, or symbolic ones, such as the Russian war memorial, guarded by Soviet troops in West Berlin. Though a western visitor might understandably suffer a feeling of claustrophobia in Berlin, the city's unique position came to be accepted as more or less normal by its population. As the years passed, West Berlin continued to act as a token of four-power obligation to reunite Germany, as a refuge and as a shop window. It was, indeed, a striking example of co-existence in action.

This uneasy *modus vivendi* was shattered late in 1958, when Mr. Khrushchev produced his proposal for turning *West* Berlin into a demilitarized free city under a four-power guarantee. This would have involved not only the destruction of allied wartime rights but the unilateral withdrawal of western troops from the city. It was rightly viewed with suspicion in western capitals; and the prolonged foreign minister conference in the summer of 1959 failed to point the way to any alternative solution, while Mr. Khrushchev's junket to the United States later the same year produced much good feeling but no basis for agreement. The collapse of the summit brought renewed threats of a separate peace treaty with Moscow and Pankow; and the approach of a crisis for late 1961 was freely predicted throughout the earlier part of this year.

The present crisis developed in two phases. On June 4, in Vienna, Mr. Khrushchev gave Mr. Kennedy a memorandum in which he demanded the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two Germanies. He threatened to make a separate peace treaty with East Germany and to hand over the remaining controls on access to Berlin to his East German vassals. The second phase opened on August 13, when the East German government built wall and wire through the heart of Berlin, dividing the city in two in a manner which had not been achieved before, and seeking to demonstrate by a dramatic weekend *coup de main* both the end of four-power control and the absorption of the eastern districts of the city into the German Democratic Republic—all this in advance of the negotiations towards which the West was cautiously moving.

This crisis, like the one precipitated by Mr. Khrushchev in the autumn of 1958, is essentially an artificial or manufactured one. The failure to reach agreement on Germany sixteen years after the end of the war is in itself no cause for crisis. Mr. Khrushchev's motives now, as always, are extraordinarily difficult to fathom—and I prefer to leave this to those professional peepers over the Kremlin wall. One factor which undoubtedly played a part in his calculations—and which has gone largely unnoticed in the west—was the crisis in the German Democratic Republic, the D.D.R. Notoriously the unhappiest of all the satellites, by the spring of this year it was suffering from a deep internal crisis. Industrial production was falling short of targets; waiting lists for consumer goods appeared endless. Collectivization had resulted in declining agricultural production and ultimately in a serious food shortage. On my earlier visits to East Berlin, I was always told that the contrast between the western and eastern sectors was artificial, and that I must go farther east to see real signs of growth in the D.D.R. This I did, early this summer; but the pattern of grey drabness is the same. I found shops poorly stocked and the range of goods limited and of poor quality; people adequately but shabbily dressed; menus conspicuous for what was not available. I wondered why the student guide who was assigned to me insisted that we walk in the streets, until I realized that not only was there no sidewalk but there were virtually no cars. The main railway line down which I travelled to Dresden—I suppose the equivalent of the Montreal–Toronto line—was still single-tracked, with the relaying of rails and the rebuilding of bridges, dismantled by the Russians in 1945, only now in progress. I had observed form west Germany the brutal assault of the D.D.R. authorities on the Evangelical Church. And I soon felt the impress of the police-state regime when armed railway police examined and re-examined my passport. Despite the repressiveness of the regime, I found people, young and old, prepared to talk freely and frankly; although it was noticeable that conversation ceased when a stranger approached; and my luncheon companion suddenly fell silent and became studiously absorbed in a survey of the passing landscape, as the police, preceded by a tense and oppressive hush, entered the dining car.

Whatever happened in the Zone, when the pressure got too great or the outlook too bleak, the road to Berlin was always open, even though it became increasingly difficult to evade the police checks en route to the city, and from there to drift over the sector boundary without attracting attention by carrying luggage—or even a toothbrush—which came to be accepted as evidence of intent to flee. But, compared to flight across the barbed wire on the zonal border, over the ploughed ten-metre death strip, under the eyes of the guards in the watchtowers above, it was relatively easy. And thousands made their way every week to the reception camp at Marienfelde in southwest Berlin. The state of latent opposition in the zone was attested to by the fact that the flow of refugees in July reached a level approaching that on the eve of the rising on June, 1953; increasingly stiff measures to check the flow only served to increase it; the threat to close the Berlin frontier caused panic in the east, and the flow became a flood. For a country bent on forced industrialization, and desperately short of doctors, teachers and other specialists, this loss of population, with a very high percentage of young men, was damaging both to its economic prospects and to its prestige.

All this came to an end on August 13, with the construction of a chinese wall or walls through the heart of the city, the erection of concrete and barbed wire barricades, the evacuation of people from their homes near the border and the demolition of buildings overlooking it. The last vestiges of free movement within the city came to an end. The flow of refugees was effectually checked. With its seventeen million inhabitants in a form of gigantic prison, the D.D.R. could hope to proceed with the economic and political consolidation that had previously eluded it. The brutalities perpetrated almost daily by the *Volkspolizei* to prevent hardy souls form escaping this new prison need no underlining by me—yet, as the *Guardian* of Manchester commented recently, they should not be forgotten lest our consequences become dulled and, in our concern over high policy, we lose sight of the human consequences of recent events. The action of August 13, and of the shootings which have followed it, constitute, as some thirty intellectuals of the Congress of Cultural Freedom, from Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas wrote to Mayor Brandt a short while ago, a flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which provides that "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own." It has had one strange consequence—driving people to attempt flight over the zonal border itself, which many previously thought impossible. Recently a whole farm village of fifty-five people, faced with deportation from their homes near the border, moved en masse to the west. The party included an eighty-nine year old woman, many children, including thirteen-week old twins. They moved by stealth, at night, on a disused track, the children packed into a rubber-tired cart and bundled in rags for protection against East German bullets. The horse's hoofs were muffled, the young men led the way, the others followed clinging to guide lines.

The closing of the frontier on August 13 was hailed as an admission of weakness by the D.D.R.—and so it was; but it hardly involved a victory for the west, as, for the first time since 1948 the iron curtain moved westward, and the last window that let in a ray of light from the west was sealed off.

By all accounts, life in West Berlin has gone on relatively unchanged. The 60,000 *Grenzgängers*, those who worked in the West and lived in the East, have been missing from their jobs; some school children failed to turn up; it is of course impossible to visit *Grossmutter* across the wall; but West Berlin remains busy, thriving, alive. Yet it can never be quite the same. The unique feature of Berlin was the open frontier, across which flowed in both directions people and ideas, books and newspapers, theatre and opera tickets. Half a million people crossed the frontier daily. All this gave Berlin its distinctive character; but this unique rent in the iron curtain has now been closed. More than ever West Berlin is, as an old saying put it, a democratic island in a red sea, without, however, the form of underwater promontory which jutted out into an unfriendly but not alien east.

On August 13 the West held its hand. There had been no direct interference with West Berlin, or with its lines of communications. When the *Volkspolizei* demanded that West Berliners keep back one hundred yards from the new barriers, Allied troops closed up to it. But for the rest the western response was limited to protests at the infringement on freedom of movement within the city; to repeated statements of determination to maintain existing rights; to some arms build-up; and to emphasis on the willingness to negotiate on Berlin; and on the wider problem of Germany as a whole.

For many, indeed, the word negotiation has become a form of magic incantation, too often repeated as a substitute for facing up to the realities of the situation, too seldom followed by any consideration as to what can be negotiated. There is regrettably little that is negotiable at Berlin itself; and to reach a settlement of the German question as a whole is, in the light of East-West hostility in 1961, no less fraught with difficulties than previously. Mr. Khrushchev's lifting of his time limit, and his characteristic denial that he ever intended his proposal to be interpreted as an ultimatum, suggested a breathing spell and appeared to remove the duress under which the west has consistently, and rightly, refused to negotiate. On the other hand this crude nuclear blackmail, and the new menaces directed at Scandinavia, cast a lurid light on his determination. Moreover, at Berlin itself, he has not abated his demands by one iota, and his removal of his time limit is conditional on the West's willingness to approach the Soviet point of view. The problem to be faced in any negotiations remain, in other words, as intractable after, as before, the 22nd Communist Party Congress.

Recent Soviet actions may have seriously upset the likelihood of negotiations which have hitherto been delayed by the opposition of General de Gaulle and the German election campaign and its uncertain results. But if they do ultimately take place, it is essential that the west should be clear as to what is, and what is not, negotiable. The minimum essential at stake is: the freedom and security of West Berlin and its line of communications. This is both a political and a moral obligation. To back down on the repeated promises in the face of present threats would be to make a mockery of the western alliance, to show that its promises are worthless, and so gravely to weaken it. To acquiesce in Mr. Khrushchev's free-city proposal would constitute for him a victory comparable with Hitler's at Munich.

In the second place, in the present state of Europe any agreement on a fresh status for Berlin must provide for some western forces to remain in the city—or else this too would be considered a betrayal by the West Berliners. Moreover, the communists across the Spree would undoubtedly interpret withdrawal as evidence of lack of concern, and the door would be opened a little wider to subversion. Finally, there must continue to be free access to West Berlin by air, independent, that is, of Communist control. Any infringement on the inviolability of this air bridge would open the way to Communist interference, under the guise, for example, of preventing the movement of *saboteurs*, that is, those who believe in free elections; or of *revanchists*, those who refuse to acknowledge Herr Ulbricht as the head of all Germany. Hence the key importance of the Berlin Four-Power Air Safety Centre, which regulates all air traffic in and out of the city. Established in

1946, it survived the blockade. On the day on which there was serious interference with it, the Berlin crisis would be with us with a vengeance.

This suggests a real danger to the West. We may be building defences and making declarations against the wrong danger. An open assault against West Berlin—probably even a new blockade—is a highly unlikely prospect, as it involves the threat of nuclear retaliation. Moreover, Mr. Khrushchev has repeatedly denied any intention whatever to change the social or political order in West Berlin. What is more likely is, in direct assault on the means of West Berlin's independent existence, a steady whittling away of the bases on which West Berlin has been able to live and prosper, each step barely perceptible, none in itself of sufficient gravity to enable the West to draw a line and say thus far and no farther. Beyond this, too, there is a real danger that this exposed outpost, now deprived by the events of August 13 of a major portion of its *raison d'être*, will suffer from the gradual onset of atrophy, that it will become instead of an outpost and showplace and refuge, "a ghetto of freedom," to use Willy Brandt's vivid phrase. Reports of movement from Berlin to West Germany, of moving companies being booked up months ahead, of the decline in savings accounts, all this suggests that this development has already begun.

To protect the freedom and security of West Berlin and its lines of communications, that is, to guarantee it a free and unhampered development into an indefinite future is then the first essential; and to secure this the west has regrettably little that it can offer in return. I have not time here to explore the role—and surely it could only be a limited and peripheral one—which the United Nations might perform; nor to examine the complex question of disengagement—if this concept has any validity in a nuclear age; nor can I do more than suggest the key importance of disarmament and its relevance to the German question. What I do want to suggest is what we are *not* seeking in any negotiations. We are not, for example, concerned to prevent the signing of a treaty between Moscow and Pankow. It ought not to have been necessary for Mr. Kennedy to spell this out in his UN address; nor is there any need for Mr. Khrushchev to exploit this legend with his nuclear blackmail. What master and vassal agree on for their own convenience is of no concern to us, except in so far as it involves a unilateral abrogation of existing allied rights in Berlin and along the access routes. Herein lies the importance of the confrontation of U.S. and Russian tanks in Berlin last week: to remind the Soviet Union that it remains, and must continue to remain, responsible for ensuring free passage for allied forces and officials through the whole of the divided city, until such time as agreement is reached on alternative arrangements. Nor, in the second place, are we being asked to go to the brink of a nuclear war in the pursuit of German reunification. Under the present conditions in Europe, and the world, reunification can at best be a remote and theoretical possibility, a fact which most West Germans are compelled to admit, however reluctantly. We should, however, be clear on two points: first that the prolonged division will continue to be an unsettling factor in Germany and therefore in Europe. It is a dangerous mistake to assume, as so many outside Germany do, that the existing division offers a neat and permanent solution to the German problem. Anyone with the barest knowledge of German history ought to be aware that the drive for national unity is one of the oldest and most continuous German traditions. In consequence, the steady pursuit of German unity, within the limits of the present legitimate frontiers, must remain a basic western objective. Moreover, and this is my second point, by the treaty signed in Paris in October, 1954, which brought the Federal Republic into NATO, the three western powers pledged their co-operation "to achieve, by peaceful means, their common aim of a reunified Germany enjoying a liberal democratic constitution, like that of the Federal Republic, and integrated within the European community." The pursuit of German unity within this framework is not just a pious expression; it is a long-range objective, accepted in a formal contract. If it cannot be acheived at present, and I see no prospect of this, at least nothing should be done which will foreclose it for the future.

In this connection Berlin is of critical importance. Its open door was the last breach in the barriers dividing the two Germanies. When this door was slammed shut on August 13, it awoke a sense of national emergency which was reflected in the voting pattern of September 17—undoubtedly assisting the drift from Adenauer to the Free Democrats and the Social Democrats. There is, in my view, most unlikely to be a violent nationalist outburst now in support of reunification. I find it difficult to conceive, for the present at least, that there is any possibility of the Federal Republic attempting to "go it alone" or, in alliance with the east, to achieve unity at the price of Communism. Western Germany is too thoroughly embedded in the western community, its young democracy too steady and sober, its awareness of the real meaning of Communism too complete for this to be a serious danger.

In this connection we should bear in mind, too, that in resisting the claims on Berlin, the Federal Republic is being asked to swallow some pretty bitter medicine. Hard national sacrifices are being demanded by its friends in Washington and London to satisfy its enemies in Moscow and Pankow. However prepared the Germans are to acknowledge the irreparable loss of the territories beyond the Oder-Neisse, this will hardly lessen the pain of abandoning a title to which they have clung in the hope of winning major counter-concessions from the east, receiving in return only a precarious hold on half a truncated and isolated Berlin. Even more painful is the prospect of having to acknowledge as legitimate, and presumably permanent, the existence of the D.D.R. and the division of Germany which this implies. It is no answer to say that the West Germans have been dealing with Pankow for years, and that what is required here is merely an extension and formalization of existing contacts. For we are dealing here with hard national problems which transcend matters of administrative convenience. The essential fact, surely, is that, in acknowledging the *status quo*, the west would be drastically, and probably irretrievably, altering it. Recognition ought thus to be viewed as an important counter in a tough political game. It is the highest card in the western hand. It should not be played lightly. It should rather be used to the best advantage in the interests of the whole of the west—and this includes the legitimate interests of West Germany,

THE RT. HON. LESLIE M. FROST MEETING, OCTOBER 19TH, 1961

General E. L. M. Burns Meeting, November 9th, 1961 though not necessarily German interests exclusively. Perhaps, as a recent article in the London *Economist* suggests, the essential paradox is that, in order to reunite Germany, it is necessary to acknowledge its present division and so pave the way for rapprochement and reconciliation between the two states. But this paradox needs further elucidation to be entirely convincing.

In the end one comes back to Mr. Khrushchev's motives. If he is primarily concerned to bolster up his sagging satellite, then some accommodation ought to be possible—possibly including something short of *de facto* recognition ought to be possible. If he is seeking to force the west out of Berlin, the outlook is much less promising. But beyond this there is the third possibility, that Mr. Khrushchev is less concerned with the fate of Ulbrichtland, or of Berlin itself—despite his repeated protestations that Berlin is a bone which sticks in his throat; but that his real aim is to divide the west and break the western alliance by attacking it at its most vulnerable point—its links with west Germany—by holding out the prospect of reunification and the achievement of the national goals under Communist auspices. If this is a danger which is remote rather than actual, it is one which should be kept in mind in shaping western policies. For perhaps, as Richard Lowenthal has argued recently, the stability of the East German regime cannot be secured without shattering the stability of the Federal Republic with incalculable effects on Europe. There is in Germany an unfortunate history of nationalist movements slowly building up and exploding after prolonged delay.

Recent weeks have seen a greater flexibility of the U.S. position on Germany and Berlin, as Mr. Kennedy has moved a long distance from the rigidities bequeathed by Messrs. Dulles and Eisenhower, and enshrined in holy writ by Mr. Adenauer. Mr. Khrushchev, for his part, appears to have been sufficiently impressed both by western determination and western readiness to go to the conference table to provide a breathing spell. This internal must be used—as that after Mr. Khrushchev's challenge in November, 1958, was not—for the twin tasks of education—and not only of the Germans—to what is at stake and the dangers implicit in the Berlin situation, and for exploring means to achieve a settlement. Though all parties have expressed their opinion that war will not result over Berlin, the situation will undoubtedly keep the world in crisis for some time to come, and the danger of open conflict by accident will be everpresent. On the other side is the danger that, precisely because of this universal abhorrence at the thought of a war that could so easily become nuclear, Mr. Khrushchev can achieve without recourse to war both his German aims, and a decisive, perhaps final, defeat of the West. To steer between these two dangers represents the extraordinarily difficult, but surely not insuperable, problem of western statesmanship in the next few weeks.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

“WHERE DOES DISARMAMENT STAND TODAY?”

An Address by

GENERAL E. L. M. BURNS
Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations

Thursday, November 9, 1961

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: On each November 11 it is customary for us to remember the men and women, the flower of our civilization, who gave their lives in two wars that occurred within a period of twenty-five years—even as we get ready to go underground in preparation for a possible third world war.

As the weapons of destruction have increased in power, increased efforts have been made to find a formula under which men could turn their strengths and ingenuity against poverty and disease instead of against themselves. One effort has been attempts at disarmament, about which our speaker today, General E. L. M. Burns, is eminently qualified to adress us. General Burns has served in both world wars and commanded the first Canadian Corps in Italy in 1944 during operations in the Liri Valley and the Capture of Rimini. After a period as Deputy Minister of Veterans' Affairs at Ottawa, General Burns became Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision organization in Palestine from 1954-56, and later Commander of the U.N. Emergency Force from November 1956 to December 1959.

At present General Burns is adviser to the Canadian government on disarmament, and he is presently attending the United Nations General Assembly, representing Canada in discussions on disarmament. General Burns will speak to us on the important subject, "Where Does Disarmament Stand Today?"

MR. BURNS: My talk today about disarmament will be related to the discussions on that subject which are taking place in the General Assembly of the United Nations. As you know, disarmament is a subject which has been discussed in the United Nations every year since it was founded. Some people would say that such a long series of unproductive talks shows that there is not much hope of getting agreement and that disarmament is only a dream. My answer to this is that if disarmament is a dream, then the alternative is a horrible nightmare—the eventual outbreak of nuclear war. We have been warned, often in recent months by the Civil Defence Organization, as to what would happen to our big cities if nuclear bombs were dropped over them, and we should know what nuclear war would mean to us all.

The discussions on disarmament in the General Assembly opened under the shadow of, first, the Berlin crisis, and, second, the resumption of nuclear weapons testing by the Soviet Union. I shall return later to the Berlin crisis and its relation to the disarmament question.

There had been a cessation of nuclear weapons testing for three years, while the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union were negotiating a treaty for the permanent cessation of nuclear tests at Geneva. The resumption of tests by the Soviet Union has shocked the whole world. Their callous disregard of the resolution appealing to them not to set off the 50 megaton bomb was, one hopes, a revelation to the neutralist countries that tend to equate the U.S.A. with the U.S.S.R. in their denunciation of big powers.

You have probably read of the series of resolutions passed at the United Nations calling for a cessation of nuclear testing and drawing attention to its dangerous effects. One dangerous effect, of course, is hazard to health because of radioactive fall-out. There has been plenty published about that, and I am sure you are all familiar with what the dangers are. The other threat is that these tests are for perfecting weapons—bigger, more dangerous and more horrible, and this reminds everybody of the horrors that could ensue from a nuclear war, of which I have spoken. While the arms race goes on everyone is haunted by the fear that these devastating weapons may be used some day or other.

In the discussions about nuclear testing, there are three different positions taken up by countries or groups of countries. First there is the position taken up by a group led by India which calls for the nuclear powers to cease testing—to resume the moratorium, as it was called, which was in effect from 1958 to 1961, and to which I have referred. The United States objects to this proposal, and for a very good reason. They had been faithfully observing their undertakings about refraining from testing. The series of tests begun by the Soviet Union about the beginning of September, and which went on until the end of October, took the United States by surprise. While the final effect of these tests has not been evaluated, the American scientists and military authorities fear that they may have given the Soviet Union an advantage in nuclear arms technology. This would, in turn, require further tests in the atmosphere to be undertaken by the Americans. This is how the arms-race works. So the United States have said that while they are willing to sit down again and complete the negotiation of a treaty stopping nuclear testing, which was very nearly complete as a result of the work of Geneva, they are not willing to agree to an unsupervised, uncontrolled moratorium.

The position of the Soviet Union is even less forthcoming. They say that they have been obliged to resume testing by the aggressive acts of the Western Powers and that they will not promise to cease tests unless their proposals for general and complete disarmament are accepted. They have not made any clear promise that they would cease testing even then. However, this brings me to the bigger question of negotiations in regard to general and complete disarmament. The meaning of this phrase has been debated for some time. In the statement of principles to govern negotiations on disarmament, the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to a definition of it. I will read this definition out from the declaration.

> The programme for general and complete disarmament shall ensure that States will have at their disposal only those non-nuclear armaments, forces, facilities, and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens; and that States shall support and provide agreed manpower for a United Nations peace force.
>
> To this end, the programme for general and complete disarmament shall contain the necessary provisions, with respect to the military establishment of every nation, for:
>
> (a) Disbanding of armed forces, dismantling of military establishments, including bases, cessation of that production of armaments as well as their liquidation or conversion to peaceful uses:
>
> (b) Elimination of all stockpiles of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological, and other weapons of mass destruction and cessation of the production of such weapons:
>
> (c) Elimination of all means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction:
>
> (d) Abolishment of the organization and institutions designed to organize the military effort of States, cessation of military training, and closing of all military training institutions:
>
> (e) Discontinuance of military expenditures.

As most of you may know, in March of 1960 a conference on disarmament commenced at Geneva. It was terminated by the Russians and their satellites walking out of the Conference on the 27th of June, 1960. Since then there has been no disarmament conference, although the subject was discussed at the General Assembly last year. Not much could be done then because of the United States' change of administration. However, when the Kennedy administration came into power, the problem was tackled again with energy. A new organization was set up for the purpose, the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. A large group of experts have been working on disarmament problems since last spring—or perhaps it would be better to say, re-working them. Concurrently, there were bilateral meetings in Washington, Moscow and New York between a team of United States negotiators led by Mr. John McCloy and Russian negotiators led by Mr. Zorin. The result of their labours was to develop the set of principles which I have mentioned. This, though it took a long time, was a useful effort, and has been held by many in the United Nations as one step forward towards agreement on how disarmament could be carried out.

However, the two sides were not able to agree as to the body which should undertake the detailed negotiations for a disarmament treaty. The Geneva negotiations were carried out by a body of ten: five Western countries—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Canada; and five Warsaw Pact countries—the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Bulgaria. After the Conference had broken up, the Soviets said that nothnig could be achieved by such a body—owing, of course, to Western obstruction—and proposed that it should be increased by adding five neutral states to it. This was not accepted by the west, although we did say that we would accept the addition of three neutrals as officers of the Committee. However, if the other difficulties which stand in the way of disarmament could be overcome, I think that the question of the negotiating group would not present too much difficulty.

Another product of the work of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Organization was a new United States plan or programme for disarmament. This was developed from the Western plan put forward at Geneva last year. It is a considerably improved plan, both as to its negotiability and its appeal to public opinion. The plan was made public to the world by President Kennedy in his speech to the United Nations on the 25th of September of this year.

I referred in the beginning of my speech to the Berlin crisis. As everyone knows, the NATO powers and Warsaw

Pact powers are confronting each other in Berlin and along the Iron Curtain. We know very well that the Russian attempt to alter the present situation in favour of the Communist bloc by the permanent division of Germany and reducing the freedom of access of West Berlin to West Germany has been such a threat to vital Western policies that the possibility of war is foreseen. This danger of war has been brought about by the Soviet Union's threat of unilateral action supported by force, and until there is an easing of that danger it is not possible to begin a serious negotiation on disarmament.

The heightening of tensions brought about by the Russians' action in regard to Berlin has resulted in a considerable increase of armaments by the United States and various other measures increasing the military commitments of the NATO powers. This has been responded to by increased measures of armaments by the Soviet. They also justify their resumption of testing on the grounds of this military build-up by the west. This is the way the arms-race works. First one side steps up the pace, then the other.

So, some easing of the Berlin crisis, and some promise of its settlement by peaceful negotiation, will be necessary before a negotiation on disarmament can be really considered. At the same time I think that the Western world has been brought to realize the dangers in a world divided into two hostile blocs armed with weapons of such enormous destructive powers. Also, the fact that the NATO forces have been relying on the power of the so-called tactical nuclear weapons for repulsing attacks by conventional force of the East means that if a war started at all they would have to use those nuclear weapons to avoid defeat. Once one side began to use such weapons, the other side would use them also. Each side would progressively bring bigger, longer-range weapons—carrier missiles and aircraft—into use. This is called the principle of "escalation". It would be only a matter of hours before the intercontinental rockets bearing multi-megaton nuclear warheads would begin to fly.

It seems to me that the two powers facing each other across the Berlin boundary or, indeed, in any other place where their vital interests clash, and relying on nuclear armaments for defence, are exactly like two quarrelling men chained to a powder keg with the fuse sticking out of the top, and each threatening the other that, if he does not knuckle under, the fuse will be lighted. If you realistically look at the present day situation, it is just exactly like that.

So what is the moral? I think it is that we must somehow get the tension out of the Berlin situation and then seriously set about the problem of freeing the world from the danger of destruction. That danger will last while there are nuclear weapons in vast quantities and in a state of readiness to be used in a matter of minutes.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. J. Palmer Kent.

"INSIDE THE COMMON MARKET"

An Address by

DEAN H. I. MacDONALD
University College

Thursday, November 16, 1961

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: It is not often that we welcome to the speaker's rostrum of The Empire Club a man so mature and experienced and yet so young in years as our speaker today.

Dean MacDonald joined the Department of Political Economy of the University of Toronto in September, 1955, to lecture in Economics and, in July, 1956, was appointed Dean of Men at University College, in succession to Dr. C. T. Bissell. At twenty-six, Dean MacDonald became the youngest Dean in the history of University College. Dean MacDonald's scholastic career indicates that he would be classified, in present day schools, as a gifted student. He entered University College with two scholarships, headed his course every year with First Class Honours and won ten additional awards. He was awarded the Governor-General's Medal for the best degree in the Faculty of Arts and the Cody Trophy for the man contributing most to the athletic life of University College.

In 1952, Dean MacDonald went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. At Oxford he obatined his Bachelor of Philosophy in Economics and as well he was Captain of the Oxford Ice Hockey Team.

Dean MacDonald is currently writing a study of *Foreign Investment in Canada Since 1926*, and his writings have appeared in a number of national and international journals. During this past summer, Dean MacDonald visited several of the countries in the European Common Market to survey the developments in that area for the Argus Corporation. At this time, when the Common Market is a matter of concern to the Commonwealth and apparently a source of irritation between the United Kingdom and Canada, we are very pleased to have Dean MacDonald come to talk to us on the subject, "Inside the Common Market".

DEAN MacDONALD: I have entitled my remarks today, "Inside the Common Market", not to parody Mr. Gunther, nor I might add to speak at equal length, but rather because I have seen little evidence in Canada to suggest that we have devoted much attention to what is going on *inside* the Common Market itself. I am thinking in terms of European attitudes to the world economy, the underlying philosophy of the Common Market's institutions and the Common Market's hopes and aspirations. It is not sufficient to regard these striking developments through Canadian eyes, focussed merely on our immediate self-interest. I would hope, at least, that I might bring something of the European message to Canadian ears.

In this brief address, I cannot provide a thorough commentary on subjects as diverse as the rate of economic growth in France and Germany, and the contentious matter of Britain's application to join the European Common Market. I merely have two goals: first, to describe some of the highlights; second, to outline my conclusions on appropriate policy for Canada. In this, I am relying not only on my own considerable studies of these questions, but also on the authority of what I have heard from a number of Europeans in high places of policy-making and administration.

Throughout the countries of the Common Market, with the exception of Belgium, there is an unmistakable sense of buoyancy. This, of course, can be readily measured by the rate of economic growth which has been averaging 5–7% in recent years. What is more significant, however, is the existence of an attitude and state of mind that is vitally concerned with economic progress. There can be no doubt that it is this flavour of life that Britain hopes to import by a new association with Europe. The knife of European competition has a keen cutting edge and should be a welcome surgical instrument when applied to the ailing British economy. This attitude is displayed in a most exciting fashion by what has happened to the economy of France. After years of slow movement and sluggish indifference, France suddenly caught fire under the heat of economic competition with the realization that it could be an economic force commanding respect. This, to my mind, is an event rivalling the success of the Common Market itself for top place among the postwar achievements of Western Europe.

The facts of economic growth are clear by any terms of measurement. Industrial production increased by 12% in 1960, while trade within the Six increased by 25% in 1960 over 1959. Now the interesting speculation is whether this remarkable prosperity can be regarded as a result of the Common Market, or whether the Common Market has proved successful simply because it was adopted to healthy economic conditions. Whereas it is apparent that the relationship between economic growth and the Common Market is now a reciprocal process, on balance I believe that the initial success of the Common Market can be attributed largely to the economic conditions which it inherited. Certainly, France would have been reluctant to accept the tariff cuts without the assurance of a booming economy; in fact, France has actually taken the initiative in recommending a speed-up of tariff reductions.

That membership in the Common Market is no necessary guarantee of prosperity is clearly illustrated by the case of Belgium. Since the beginning of the Common Market in 1957, Belgian conditions have been relatively depressed. The reasons are purely internal: the Belgian coal mines, which are central to economic activity, badly need modernization; there have been serious labour problems and unstable government until very recently; exports have grown at a markedly slow pace. The Common Market, then, is not a cure for all economic ills, nor are its blessings evenly distributed throughout the member countries.

Actually, the great test is yet to be faced—whether the institutions of the Common Market can bolster the lagging nations while, at the same time, prevent any one nation, Germany in particular, from becoming too powerful.

A more immediate question is whether the overall rate of growth in the Six will continue. In both Germany and France, I discovered some pessimism, last August, that the boom would level off, while inflationary pressures would mount. On the other hand, there was equal optimism that any setback would be temporary, since there was still such great potential for economic growth. Now the timing of this process is crucial for the present negotiations which are underway with Britain. If there should be a slowing down and levelling off in economic prosperity at this time of complicated negotiations, it might deter the Common Market from offering arrangements such as tariff-free quotas on imports to accommodate Britain and the Commonwealth. However, I am persuaded by the bright side of the problem, which is simply this: any setback in economic growth will be short-lived, while the negotiations will be long and complex. Therefore I am confident that arrangements can and will be made that will, in effect, preserve the bonds of the Commonwealth.

There is another feature of economic life in most of the Common Market countries which has greatly facilitated the application of its institutions, and which, I believe, should be of special interest to Canadians. I refer to the spirit of economic planning and co-operation that has contributed as much to the success of France and Germany as its absence has retarded Belgium. In fact, these economic successes did not just happen; rather, they were the result of a conscious act of will based on a desire and necessity to succeed. Co-operation in the national interest is particularly apparent in the case of organized labour, a remarkable event to the Canadian viewer. In both Germany and France, labour has willingly submitted to restrictions upon itself in the belief that the proper goal was to achieve higher productivity as a contribution to the economic betterment of the whole community.

This spirit of planning hovers over the whole of Western Europe; the Europeans merely take it for granted. Nor does it imply some fundamental antithesis between socialism and free enterprise. Rather, it means the creation of a climate wherein there is "a planned system of free competition" in the words of Robert Marjolin, so that co-operation is directed to the greater success of the private sector of the economy. Useful planning does not mean government direction: it simply means that the steel industry can profit greatly from knowing the intentions of the automobile industry and other sectors of the economy. The key to such planning is to have machinery for consultation between business, labour and government. In Canada, one has the impression of each group striking off in its own direction, without necessarily consulting the national interest. In Europe there is continuing consultation and awareness that each group depends upon the co-operation of the other for ultimate strength. Of course, there are disputes and strong feelings, but there is also agreement that co-operation is to be preferred to conflict in the long run. In Canada, I suspect that we suffer from our proximity to the United States in this matter, particularly where labour organization is concerned. In addition, I fear we still possess a state of mind in which business is traditionally suspicious of government.

However, it is equally clear that there is no one form of of planning or co-operation; in fact, the system must be designed to suit conditions in the particular country. In Germany there is no national plan, but there is a statement written into the very government working papers to the effect: "The Government must consult the different economic groups in the country before considering any important economic policy." Thus, business plays a considerable role in the policy of government. France, on the other hand, has always had a planning tradition and a much more controlled economy. The significant difference now is that the so-called plan is designed to co-ordinate the different sectors of private industry, while giving maximum scope to private decisions. Comparing these procedures with the situation in Canada, where separate briefs are presented by the different sectors of the economy with little co-ordinated impact, it is a simple matter to see why national planning is characteristic in Europe, whereas national chaos is a lurking threat to Canadian economic life.

Finally, I would suggest that we, in Canada, could profit from an examination of the philosophy applying both to labour and to business in the European Common Market. In particular, notwithstanding the proximity of countries in the Common Market, there appears to be no thought of "international unions" within Europe. The unions are essentially preoccupied with internal and national problems. As a by-product of this difference, there is none of the pressure which we experience for equalization of wages between the different countries. However, labour mobility has been encouraged and facilitated in the new Common Market with the result that labour is free to move from a low wage area to a higher wage area, provided that there is a job already arranged for in the other country. There is also provision through the European Social Fund for the retraining of workers who are technologically displaced and for their transfer to new places of employment. In North America, we might study clearly its terms and provisions, for it is designed to combine economic progress with the optimum use of the labour force.

In business policy, there can be no doubt that the goal is maximum competition and freedom for business initiative and enterprise. Thus, the creation of the Common Market has encouraged the combination of smaller firms into larger, more economical units. This, in turn, has stimulated production and resulted in more economical exports. This is a point which I expect would be of interest to Canadian business, since we appear to suffer in many instances from a number of small firms, where we should be encouraging larger operations, with longer production runs and full economies of scale. On the other hand, there is strong opposition to cartels *per se*, and this will be strengthened with the application of article 85 of the Rome Treaty, whereby judgment is issued in advance of cartelization. Here, again, the only yardstick is efficient production and maximum output under healthy, competitive conditions. This would seem to be a worthy lesson.

From this brief and inadequate sketch of conditions within the European Common Market, let me turn to the position which I believe Canada should assume. I wish to say that I have no political axe to grind, nor any political affiliation; furthermore, that I have no political aspirations should be abundantly clear from my willingness to hurdle the picket fence and appear here today. Equally, however, having hurdled the fence, I have no intention of fence-siting in what I am about to say, for I have been deeply disturbed about the apparent official Canadian attitude on questions relating to the Common Market.

First of all, we must not permit the economic consequences to detract from the political and historical significance of those events that are transforming the face of Western Europe, and at last, resurrecting hope from the ashes of World War II. As a political institution, I believe that the evolution of the Common Market may be the most lasting event of this century. In Canada, we cannot afford to treat lightly such an astonishing political achievement, one that is molding together ancient sovereign states, creating an invaluable bulwark in the western alliance, and which may yet achieve the mightiest result of all—wedding of the United Kingdom to the continent of Europe after centuries of separation. Surely such progress demands our whole-hearted support and encouragement, not our antagonism and obstruction. Certainly, this road to political unification or confederation is a long and rocky one. If we wish to flatter ourselves in being leaders of world opinion among the middle powers, we must behave in a fashion that indicates some awareness of the magnitude of European problems. In turn, we can only benefit from the better world that is bound to result.

Yet it is true that the present economic strength and determination of the European Common Market has attracted at once the admiration and anxiety of the world. However, I would insist that this very economic strength represents opportunity for the world as well. In Canada, I have heard it suggested frequently that this is a narrow, inward-looking, protectionist community that is more concerned with its own development than fostering trade with the world. This is a totally false representation of the Common Market. I believe that we are now living in a world where trading blocs may be the best practical device for approaching those goals which the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) has sought.

Europe not only has great demand for goods but the ability to purchase them. Her industries are strong and competitive. She will be the new "affluent society" of the world. As a result, I staunchly believe, as it was represented to me repeatedly this summer, that the Common Market is no *isolationist* bloc, but a group that is anxious and willing to encourage trade with the rest of the world. That this willingess is being translated into fact is amply demonstrated by the 22% increase in imported goods to the Six in 1960 over 1959, with manufactured goods accounting for a large part of the increase. Under article 237, European states may have full entry: under article 238, any nation may associate and work toward mutual free trade. There is, therefore, an opportunity to harness ourselves to the expansion that is bound to occur in the whole of Western Europe, a potential market of 300 million. I could only wish that Canadian business and government would show sufficient awareness of the dimensions of political and economic change in Western Europe. In fact, I believe that enlightened business interests have been far ahead of government; one might say that business has been dragging a reluctant government along.

That Britain will, in turn, join the Common Market by some terms, I have no doubt. With one exception, everyone whom I met in Europe was enthusiastic about British entry into the Common Market in the belief that Britain stood to gain both politically and economically. Britain has lost ground by her delay, but she is more than anxious to compensate now. The British resolve is based on a pragmatic awareness that the Common Market which was an uncertain institution in 1957 is an unquestioned success today; therefore, Britain feels properly that this is the hour for her participation. Of course, there are great risks, too, and Britain could fall flat just as she can make great gains. It is therefore the more remarkable to see the extent to which British industry is prepared and willing to submit to these risks, in the belief that although some may perish, the country as a whole should be better off. Opinion has been building up among members of British industry that they have hidden for too long behind the protective wall of high tariffs; they must now have the spur of renewed competition. Along with the Commonwealth Preferences, these high tariffs will be a potent bargaining tool; on this basis, Britain can bargain not only on her own behalf but for the Commonwealth as well.

Nor do I believe that we have helped Britain or ourselves by our so-called "strategy of opposition." The Europeans will not be deceived by this. Moreover, such opposition is based on the entirely false premise that the Europeans are not interested in the survival of the Commonwealth. On the contrary, the Europeans, with their own experience and problems of the Overseas Territories, are fully sympathetic, certainly more sympathetic than we would admit, with Britain's commitment to the Commonwealth, and are willing to help her retain it. It is clear to the Europeans that maintenance of a strong Commonwealth is vital for the welfare and security of Western Europe. In fact, then, I believe that the Common Market wishes to see Britain and the Commonwealth strengthened not weakened, and will be prepared to strive to that end. At the same time, to the extent that Britain is stronger, she will be able to contribute more in terms of economic aid and capital to the world, as well as forming a hinge between Commonwealth and Common Market.

The British as well as the Europeans realize that the Commonwealth, the Common Market, or any other institution, cannot remain static and unchanged, and still remain vital. Commonwealth Preferences were established under particular economic circumstances; their application and effectiveness has changed in recent years. The Commonwealth Preference has been of diminishing economic importance, just as Britain's share of trade with the Commonwealth has tended to decline. However, the political significance remains and must be preserved. And so, I believe that Mr. MacMillan feels that the choice between Commonwealth and Common Market is a false one; rather, as he remarked in the House of Commons on July 31, 1961: "I do not think that Britain's contribution to the Commonwealth will be reduced if Europe unites. On the contrary, I think its value will be enhanced." Both will be stronger, and so will the West. Therefore, I believe that it is wrong to think dolefully: what can we salvage from the shattered remnants of the old world? We should be concentrating with energy and boldness on the things that we can create in a new world.

What should that course be? Two things are at once certain. In the first place, we are chronically worried about our basic dependence upon the American market. I suggest that this will continue, although we must forever seek ways of counter-balancing this dependence and preventing our trade from becoming completely bilateral. In the second place, we are concerned about losing our Commonwealth Preference, if Britain enters the Common Market, as well as facing higher European tariffs as a result of the averaging process in the common external tariff. Before adopting a counsel of despair, however, let us reflect on three matters.

(1) Britain will be in a much stronger position to affect Common Market policy and tariffs as a member, while membership should produce a much stronger British market for us.

(2) There are variations in the terms of the Common Market that can be applied to the Commonwealth case, for example, tariff-free quotas, and we should demonstrate some preparedness to negotiate for them.

(3) I have argued that this is not an isolationist bloc; on the contrary, there are influential forces, in Germany in particular, that are anxious to bring down the whole tariff structure to a much lower level. This will be the object of immediate and urgent negotiations within the Common Market and could improve the trading position of all countries. The Common Market has already offered to reduce its external tariff by 20% "across the board" in exchange for concessions by other nations, and has expressed a desire to bargain for an additional 20% cut.

I believe, then, that Canada's major error so far has been to think in terms of the status quo, more anxious to protect and preserve the present position that to find ways of enhancing her future economic advantage. In reference to Britain's entry into the Common Market, Mr. Hees has asserted that such an event would be damaging to Canadian foreign trade: ". . . of total sales last year to Britain of $915,000,000, $691,000,000 or 76% would be affected by British acceptance of the Common Market tariff." This is unreasonable, for, in the long run, exports are likely to increase, stimulated by a healthier British economy that should result. Moreover, we have always been hampered by the size of the Canadian market; therefore, we have further reason to turn to Europe. There are numerous North-American type goods, particularly consumer goods, required in Europe. Although the Europeans are still unsympathetic to mass-buying or marketing, there is no reason why they could not now be persuaded. In addition, I wonder if the facilities of the Canadian Exporters Association might not be greatly enhanced to provide useful information about these markets. Beyond that, we still lag far behind our European counterparts in the matter of export finance and, above all, trained export personnel. Similarly, if we are handicapped by too many firms of inefficient size, we should examine our Combines laws with a view to encouraging large-scale production. For protection against abuse, I offer foreign competition and free trade as the best guarantee of safety for the consumer and the price level.

As our positive policy, I believe that we should be attempting to secure a place at the bargaining table in the negotiations that will determine the future of the Commonwealth and the Common Market. I believe that we would be welcomed, if we came with a constructive attitude. Meanwhile, however, we should not forget that, whether we like it or not, Britain will, in some sense, be regarded as the spokesman for the Commonwealth and hence for us. And there, our policy can be determined by an examination of the old North Atlantic trading triangle. We have been prepared to pay a price for preserving a separate Canada, and I am not convinced that we should part with it so readily. Hence, I am not persuaded by the North Atlantic integrationists who seek to woo us into a customs union or free trade area with the United States, wherein we would certainly be swamped. The answer is to turn more strongly to Europe and the World—not Commonwealth *or* Common Market, but Commonwealth *and* Common Market.

What I am suggesting is that Canada should lead the Commonwealth into association with the Common Market, thereby retaining the inspiration of a multi-racial community of nations, binding the new Europe more usefully into the fabric of the free world, without fear of it becoming a white man's club, and giving the developing countries of the world all the advantages they now possess in the Commonwealth, and more. We would greatly enrich our lives, broaden our trade, and assume a positive role in world leadership. Of course, parts of the Canadian economy would face hardships, but we face hardships now. We need the Commonwealth—we need the Common Market—we need a distinctive Canada. I suggest that we can have all three; we should not settle for less. Let us explore association with the European Common Market under article 238, whereby we would gradually move to a free-trade area, without assuming the other political and economic commitments of the Common Market. We must consider this seriously because the multilateral reductions in tariffs in the postwar world seem largely to have run out. On the other hand, there is no limit to the number of bilateral agreements which can be reached between Canada and the Six, Seven, or whatever number it becomes. The Common Market already has sixteen independent countries in association with it: there can certainly be more. At the very least, we must avoid becoming the Outer One.

We cannot assume that the Common Market will welcome us; nor can we presume to speak on behalf of the Commonwealth. I would only urge that if we still believe in multilateralism, this would be a logical first step both to wider trade and toward a North Atlantic free-trade area. And I do not think that we need look to the Americans to take the lead in this matter. In fact, I believe that we could best serve ourselves, the Americans and the world by taking the lead ourselves. Gentlemen, as a Canadian, I was upset to discover that we have given the Europeans the impression that we are not very tidy in our thinking on commercial policy, apparently lacking a positive course.

We deserve clear guidance and leadership from business and government. We will require it from both directions if we are to make progress in the new world economy of 1961.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Sydney Hermant.

"TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CANADA"

An Address by

LORD TWEEDSMUIR
Chairman, Canadian Section,
London Chamber of Commerce

Thursday, November 23, 1961

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

MR. PHIMISTER: To Canadians the title of Tweedsmuir evokes mental images both of Scotland and Canada. It brings to mind a well-beloved Governor-General, our speaker's father, whose example of service stirred this country and whose autobiography *Memory Hold the Door* is a classic of its kind. The name Tweedsmuir reminds us also of the Canadian achievements of our guest today.

Lord Tweedsmuir first came to Canada in 1936. In 1938-39 he wintered in Baffinland in the service of the Hudson Bay Company. He served in the Canadian Army, 1939-45, and commanded the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment in Sicily and Italy. Lord Tweedsmuir was wounded, was mentioned in despatches twice and was decorated with the Military O.B.E. and the Order of Orange-Nassau.

A founder and past president of Canadian Veterans of the United Kingdom, Lord Tweedsmuir is a director in a number of English companies, including B.O.A.C. At present he is Chairman of the Canadian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce.

In the Tweedsmuir family, as one would expect, there is a strong affinity for printer's ink, and our guest today is author of two books, *Hudson's Bay Trader* and *Always a Countryman.* In two days Lord Tweedsmuir will celebrate a birthday—his first to be celebrated in Canada since 1939, when he was a one-pip Lieutenant in Ottawa. Lord Tweedsmuir and Lady Tweedsmuir have both spoken to this Club on previous occasions, and it is with warmth as a friend of long standing that we welcome him again, today, when he has chosen to speak on the topic, "Twenty-Five Years in Canada."

LORD TWEEDSMUIR: It gives me very great pleasure to be here, and my wife asked me to say how much she enjoyed being your guest last year. She has accompanied me from New York. We follow each other in jobs. She is a British delegate at the United Nations, a post that I occupied ten years ago.

I would like to preface my remarks by making an apology that I have not a copy of my speech. As I do not read my speeches, I consequently do not write them. Well, seeing so many distinguished men here reminds me that there is a New York psychiatrist who has a sign over his office door which reads: "Maybe you *have* no complex—maybe you *are* inferior."

Having read the excellent book of your visitors' speeches, I have noticed that they are men of both learning and experience on subjects of which they have obtained a complete mastery. One thing that I learned in the Canadian Army was that if you don't play poker very well, don't play at all. Therefore, I shall not make any pretensions.

I came to Canada twenty-five years ago. That may not seem a very long time, but it is slightly over a quarter of the time that Canada has been a nation. I now live in Britain and come to Canada some five or six times a year. This leads some people to say: "Wouldn't it save a lot of time if you went to live there?" My title to speak may seem questionable, but I may say that I did not divest myself of my Canadian identity, when I divested myself of my Canadian Uniform and bystanders see a lot of the game. One of the things I would like to mention is the enormous interest that exists in Britain about all things Canadian. I was an adviser to a newspaper published in

Britain which dealt entirely with Canadian news. It made no concession to the fact that it was published in Britain. It was not only read by people who had an obvious interest in Canada, or those who wanted to learn about Canada to do business there, but a substantial part of the readership was composed of people who had never been to Canada and, almost certainly, would never get to Canad, but who read anything they could find about Canada. I am often asked what people in Britain are saying about Canada at this very moment. People in Britain made too much of Canada's boom of the 50's and have also exaggerated Canada's pause of the 60's. But, in my frequent visits here, I am conscious of an underlying confidence that bodes well for Canada's future.

One of the things which I think has struck me most forcibly, since I first came here in 1936, is the steady growth of a Canadian identity. Canada was not then very interested in the rest of the world, nor was the rest of the world interested in Canada. It is probably true to say that most people from Britain and the U.S. found Canada rather more British, or rather more American, or rather less so, than they had imagined. I remember in the war in Italy, we would creep through the darkness of the hills on night advances. The Italian villagers that we encountered would whisper: "Are you English?" "No." "Are you American?" "No." "Then who are you?" "Canadians," we would reply. That seemed to puzzle them. It puzzles no one any longer. A clear cut of a Canadian identity has evolved. As well as a Canadian outlook and a distinctive Canadian taste. Sometimes the British exporters to Canada have not given full weight to this. Britain and Canada have two powerful elements in common. One is a common habit of thought. The other is what might be called an enlightened amateurism. I think Von Clausevitz must have been thinking of the Canadian army when he wrote: "There are only three possible courses open to an enemy, and he always chooses a fourth."

Science has stood the world on its head in the last twenty-five years. You cannot change geography. But world circumstances can change its significance. The Canadian army went off in 1914 and 1939 knowing their hearths and homes were secure against the enemy. Now it is the nearest of the Western powers to the potential enemy. We have now come to a point of history when it is technically possible to conquer the earth. World maps have always put the Mediterranean in the middle. It is the historic source of civilization and war. But suppose you took your map and put the Arctic Ocean in the middle, with the three largest power blocs grouped round it. It would be more realistic. A lot of changes have come to that northland since I first knew it. I remember going down Hudson's Strait in 1938 in the old Hudson's Bay Company vessel, the *Nascopie*. I asked the skipper one night in the chart room where we were on the map. He replied: "Look at that chart on the wall. It's the latest Admiralty chart, and by that we are 150 miles inland."

In sharp contra-distinction. Last July I was standing beside a rapid on the southern shores of Hudson's Strait. The roar of the rapids alone broke the silence. But suddenly there crept in a noise that grew stronger and stronger. I looked up and there, tracing a vapour trail across the sky, was a B.O.A.C. plane, seven miles up on its course, non-stop from Los Angeles to London. People will tell you the new north is now extremely sophisticated and safe. But if you are contemplating a plane with a broken pontoon and a broken wireless set, and four hundred miles to walk—if you are to reach safety—then the new North is mighty like the old.

Winter, too, has come to have a different meaning. Winter now is not just accepted as a period when activity is slowed down for six months. It is now regarded as another frontier to be rolled back. Another thrilling thing in which I have participated is the taming of great waters for the Hydro Electric power. The exciting thing about the Hydro Electric development is that you are living on the income of the world, instead of its capital. The trappings of pioneering change, but not the essence. After all a performance of Shakespeare in modern dress is none-the-less a performance of Shakespeare.

The word "progress" worries me. I am never too clear of the meaning. I saw an obituary notice of a young pilot and it said he believed in progress. If he only believed in change that was good. It hardly needed saying. If he believed in change, whether good or bad, it didn't say much for his discrimination. I would substitute the word "achievement". It is what human beings achieve in the time of history, not just in the passing of time. You sometimes hear it said: "What is Canada?" Canada is an adventure, and I have been enormously fortunate to be able to partake of it. I collect people and places, and I have a great collection of both. I do not have to live on my memories. I have the great good fortune to be able to continue to partake of it. The first time I ever made a speech I said to the Chairman: "For how long should I speak?" and he said: "Just as long as you like, but we all go at 2 o'clock!" If you will excuse me making what is perhaps more appropriate to an after-dinner speech than an after-lunch speech, I will now sit down.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Harold Lawson.

ST. ANDREW'S DAY SPECIAL MEETING
at which

LORD POLWARTH

delivered the principal address.

Joint Meeting of
St. Andrew's Society of Toronto and
The Empire Club of Canada

Thursday, November 30, 1961

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Vasy Ash, President of St. Andrew's Society of Toronto.

MR. ASH: Gentlemen, tonight the St. Andrew's Society is celebrating its 125th anniversary, 1056 members strong. Because our day this year falls on the same day as the regular meeting of The Empire Club, and because our guest speaker had been invited by both societies on the same day, it was decided by both of us (the speaker excluded) to make this a joint dinner. I think it is quite appropriate that on the 125th Anniversary of the St. Andrew's Society its members should be joined in celebration by The Empire Club of Canada, both of us sharing, as we do, so many ideals in common. I like to think, too, that members of the Empire Club will enjoy (and have enjoyed) some of the ceremonial traditionally associated with the St. Andrew's Society's Dinners. Personally, I hope that tonight we are ourselves establishing a new tradition—the custom of meeting jointly for dinner in those years—about every six years, I believe—when November 30th falls on a regular meeting date of The Empire Club. But that is for future presidents to decide.

The society has received a number of messages of goodwill on this occasion. These have come from: Aberdeen, Albany, N.Y. (1803), Australia, Black's Harbour, N.B., Charleston, South Carolina (1729), Detroit, Edinburgh, Fredericton (1825), Illinois, London, Ont., Los Angeles, Cal., Mexico, Montreal, New York (1756), Oakland, Cal., Philadelphia, Penn. (1747), Regina, Restigouche, N.B., Rhode Island, River Plate, Argentina, Saint John, N.B., San Francisco, Vancouver, Winnipeg, two messages in particular I would like to read to you. The first is from the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Scotland's capital city:

> On this, your 125th Anniversary, may I extend to you, on behalf of the citizens of Edinburgh, heartiest congratulations and every good wish for the future. We hope you will have a most successful and enjoyable evening.
>
> Kindest regards.
>
> Your sincerely,
>
> (sgd.) J. Greig Dunbar
> Lord Provost

The other is from the Immediate Past Governor General of Canada, Mr. Vincent Massey, who is an Honorary Life Member of our Society:

> It gives me the greatest pleasure to send you my congratulations on the 125th Anniversary of the St. Andrew's Society. I was deeply touched when I was elected an Honorary Life Member of this most venerable and excellent organization, and I only regret that circumstances prevented me from accepting the very kind invitation to be with you on this important occasion. I would like to convey to all those present tonight my warmest greetings and good wishes. Vincent.

On behalf of our society I sent greetings to thirty-one sister societies in various parts of the world, and I would like to read the text of our message to you:

> On behalf of the officers and members of the St. Andrew's Society of Toronto, founded in 1836, I have pleasure in extending to all members of your society our very best wishes for November 30th, St. Andrew's Day, 1961.

"Heulin ri heulin thlan na Gael! (Shoulder to shoulder, children of the Gael!)

We also sent the following message:

Sir Winston Churchill
Chartwell
Kent England

The St. Andrew's Society of Toronto and The Empire Club of Canada assembled in joint meeting to honour the memory of Scotland's Patron Saint and remembering your birthday and the added lustre it has brought to this historic day send you across the broad waters our grateful salutations and our affectionate good wishes.

(sgd.) Vasy Ash, President St. Andrew's Society
and
Z. S. Phimister, President Empire Club

The signatures are the signatures of Ash and Phimister, but the language is the language of Brockington!

In the context of that cable I think Dr. Phimister is especially well fitted to give us our first toast. Dr. Phimister is Director of Education, Toronto Board of Education, Honorary President of the League of the British Commonwealth and Empire (Metro Branch), and President of the Empire Club of Canada, the society with whom we are holding our "Joint Dinner" tonight. I invite Dr. Phimister now to propose the toast of "Canada the Land We Live In."

DR. PHIMISTER: It is my honour this evening to propose a toast to Our Land, Canada, and there could be no more propitious occasion, no more appropriate time, than this joint meeting of the St. Andrew's Society and The Empire Club of Canada and the birthday of Sir Winston Churchill. The St. Andrew's Society of Toronto was founded in 1836, The Empire Club of Canada in 1903. Although there have been several occasions when Thursday (the meeting day of The Empire Club) fell on November 30, tonight marks the first occasion on which the two groups have met in a joint meeting. Whether this is a tribute to the cautious canniness of the Scots, or evidence that the empire has declined to the point where it has been surrounded by the Scots and so surrendered to them, I am at a loss to explain. However, Mr. President, on behalf of the members of The Empire Club of Canada, I wish to congratulate you on the 125th Anniversary of the St. Andrew's Society, and to thank you for your generous invitation to join with you this evening in the celebrations which mark this day.

Tonight, to borrow a felicitous phrase from one of your head table guests, we are all Jock Tamson's bairns and we thank you for our seats at the fireside of one of the grandest families in the world.

Actually the occasion calls for something pleasant to be said about Scots. This may be a bit of a problem for such as Samuel Johnson—but not for any Scot. The great Sam could define oats in his dictionary as "a grain which is generally given to horses but in Scotland supports the people", but every Scot would recall with pride that much literature and much governmental genius are nourished on a little oatmeal. And many young Scots found their best prospects on the high seas to Canada rather than on the highway to England.

Canada and Scotland are so intertwined in history and tradition that a pride in Canada can well be a pride in Scotland and a pride in Scotland a pride in Canada. Let me quote to you some eloquent words from Mr. Leonard Brockington's speech to this Society in 1953:

> And so it seems to me that a man of Scottish birth or descent is not a worse Canadian if he rejoices (as all Canadians must rejoice) because the tapestry of Canada is coloured by the traditions, the speech and the songs of Scotland, and its fibre wonderfully strengthened by the character of the sons and daughters of a little land that helped to teach the world to fight to the end, to sing, to dance, to mourn, to be free, and ever to turn in loyalty to the kindred points of heaven and home.

Perhaps it is because Canada has benefited from the genius of many traditions and none more than the Scots that all of us feel her growing in strength, maturity and confidence. We are all separately proud of our old country ties but we are unified in our love of Canada.

Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in a toast to Canada The Land We Live In.

MR. TURNER: Canada, the land that we live in.

> "Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said
> This is my own, my native land!"

Although these well known lines by Sir Walter Scott were written about his beloved Caledonia, they also aptly reflect the feelings of a Canadian towards his own country. This is so whether we are Canadians by adoption or of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th or more generation.

Canada! The very word is like the sound of geese flying north, the slap of a beaver's tail, a train whistle in a mountain pass, the whisper of ripe grain in the wind, the rustle of crimson maple leaves falling on a brisk fall day, the squeal of a wagon wheel on hard crunchy snow.

Canada, the country that stretches 4000 miles from the Atlantic, up the St. Lawrence River, across the Great Lakes, over the prairies to the Pacific where the mountains run into the sea; 2500 miles from the southern border to the Arctic Ocean and with an enormous coastline of nearly 15000 miles. A land of sun, rain and snows with a varied landscape of mountains, forests, fertile farmlands, prairies, great lakes and rushing rivers. A land that can easily support itself with its myriad of natural resources and provide the opportunity of one of the highest standards of living in the world.

Canada celebrates its 100th birthday in 1967, although its discovery, as we know it, goes back nearly 500 years. In that time men have contributed to its history. Among them, John Cabot—Jacques Cartier—Samuel de Champlain—The Hudson's Bay Company—Wolfe—The United Empire Loyalists—Lord Selkirk—Lord Durham and the Fathers of Confederation. They gave us a country with fine traditions, a responsible governmental system, an admirable code of justice and a grand birthplace to grow up in.

OF
CANADA
ROYAL YORK

Lord Tweedsmuir Meeting, November 23rd, 1961

His Excellency Francis Lacoste Meeting, December 7th, 1961

Oh Canada, our land, our love, our pride—Gentlemen, it is a deeply-felt privilege to respond to the toast—
"Canada, the land that we live in."

MR. ASH: H. V. Morton, in his *In Search of Scotland*, describes how he saw two boys bathing in a burn in Galloway: "The swimmers shouted and splashed in a placid pool," he wrote, "where the reflected sky fell about them like showers of liquid gold. If one or both of you, I thought, are fated to go far away and make your lives, for instance in Canada, how dear to you this moment will become, a moment of which you now think but little." It is of such memories of youth, the Burns and the Gowans fine, that some of us will think as we drink the toast which I am about to propose to you. Others will think upon the previous generations of their family, those Scots or that Scot who left perhaps the croft to venture into an unknown country to provide for their own.

The soldiers amongst us may think of the battle honours of their regiments, names like those of our two own Highland Regiments whose commanding officers are here at our head table, names like Ypres, Festubert, Somme, Vimy, Passchendaele, Amiens, Sicily, Campobasso, Ortona, Apeldoorn, Arras, Falaise, the Rhine, to mention only a few, names that indeed for *all* Canadians resound and echo down the corridors of time.

Each of us is entitled to his own thoughts at such a moment, whether they be of home, of ancestors, of battles, or of all the religious conviction and history of Scotland personified in St. Andrew. *So* let us drink the toast of the day, each thinking his own thoughts. Gentlemen: "The day an 'A' Wha honour it."

The response to the toast we have just drunk will be given by Lord Polwarth. In calling on him to do so, I know I would embarrass him if I took the considerable time that would be required to recount the long list of his distinctions, of which you have in any case read. I would, however, like to add a few personal touches. First may I say that he is a member of the council of my old school in the Highlands of Perthshire, though too new to have had anything to do with the corrective system of my day—of which I can give personal (and repeated) testimony. Next, that he fought with the Lothians and Border Yeomanry in the last war and was decorated. You know that he counts among his forebears Sir Walter Scott, but you may not know that another ancestor (on the maternal side) was Sir William Campbell, Chief Justice of Upper Canada in the years just before the foundation of our St. Andrew's Society, 125 years ago.

Harry Polwarth is the 10th to hold the barony. As a chartered accountant, a director of the Bank of Scotland, a long-standing member of the Dollar Exports Council and chairman of the Scottish Council, Development and Industry, he is a refreshing example of the modern Scottish Chief. No one is better qualified to tell us about the Scottish Nation and where it is going. Harry Polwarth's Canadian ancestor was described in the books of the time as "A man of great force of character, sterling integrity, and personal worth." Believe me, gentlemen of the St. Andrew's Society and the Empire Club of Canada, that is a perfect description of our guest speaker. Gentlemen, Lord Polwarth.

LORD POLWARTH: Mr. Chairman, Your Worship, Members of the St. Andrew's Society of Toronto, Members of the Empire Club of Canada, and Guests. It is an awe-inspiring experience to be asked to respond to this toast, but I am encouraged by knowing that this is one of the greatest honours that can befall any Scot, particularly on this the 125th Anniversary of your Society, and also by the warmth of the welcome I have received, not only here tonight, but every time I have visited your great city and country. But it is still something of an ordeal to know that at each of your last four dinners you have been addressed by one who is versed and famed in the liberal or learned arts, a musician, a minister of the kirk, a chief justice and a man of Letters, the last of whom I have so greatly enjoyed sitting beside tonight.

And my mind goes back four years to the time when your great Canadian Trade Mission was in Britain. It was on St. Andrew's Day that we welcomed them to Edinburgh, as their train steamed into Princes Street Station and the Edinburgh City Police Pipe Band played brawly on the platform in the murk of a late November afternoon. We visited the Castle and saw the spot of ground which is forever Canadian soil—and the war memorial where side by side are the insignia of Scottish Regiments and the names of Scottish dead from one side of the Atlantic and the other. We joined them for dinner and Leonard Brockington dragged himself from a bed of sickness and delivered the finest speech I have ever heard upon St. Andrew's night.

It was a performance to daunt a lesser orator from the very attempt. So, in rising tonight, I shall bear well in mind the advice given to the young minister from the city who was invited to preach in a country kirk. Now this minister was a keen young man who fancied himself particularly for his preaching, and before he left the vestry he indicated to the beadle that he intended to give the congregation a sermon that would really stir them up. Well, he threw himself into the service and the sermon with zest. But somehow the congregation just did not respond, and it was a somewhat crest-fallen young minister who returned to the vestry at the end of the serivce. So he sought the advice of the beadle as to why the sermon had not after all been a success, whereupon he replied, "Weel minister, I'm thinkin' if ye'd gaed up the way ye cam doon, ye wad hae cam doon the way ye gaed up."

Just before I left Scotland, our Prime Minister visited Glasgow, and I was privileged to sit next to him at a luncheon. As I expect you know, his forebears were crofters in the Isle of Arran. I told him about my visit to Canada and about this speech which I was to make tonight, and he said that he would like to give me a message to bring you. It is headed "Admiralty House, Whitehall" and it reads as follows:

> As an exiled Scot I am very happy to send through you a message to the 125th Anniversary Dinner of the St. Andrew's Society of Toronto.
>
> All Scottish exiles, wherever they may be, feel a special affection for the traditional ceremonies of St. Andrew's Day. I am sure that the St. Andrew's Society

of Toronto will worthily uphold these Scottish Traditions and I should be grateful if you would convey to the society my good wishes for the success of their dinner and for their continued prosperity.

Today is, of course, not only St. Andrew's Day—as your Chairman has reminded you. It is the birthday of that man to whom this world owes more than any other alive—Sir Winston Churchill. And for both your Chairman and myself it is a day of personal rejoicing because for each of us it is the birthday of one of our family. In my case it is my son and heir, and as a result he proudly bears the name of Andrew. I understand that Vacy's was also intended to be Andrew—but unfortunately there are some things in this world you cannot be so sure of as "Shell."

Sir Winston is often called a great House of Commons man, and it is a far way from the rough and tumble of that House to the peace—or sommolence—of the House of Lords. I don't know if your Senate is anything like our House, but there is a story told of a Peer who had just been made a very Junior Minister in the House of Lords and was detailed to reply for the Government to a question which was to be asked. As is customary, he was given by the department concerned a written answer, which he was careful to read out word for word. This he followed so carefully that at the end he failed to observe the parenttheses surrounding the last sentence, and he concluded with the words: "I'm afraid this is rather a dusty reply, but it ought to do for the Lords." And—one word of warning—it is also said that another peer dreamed he was speaking in the House of Lords and woke up to find that he was.

One disadvantage of an English education is that, unlike your Chairman who was at that great Scottish school Glenalmond, I have lost one of the most precious assets a Scot can have—our native tongue. It is an asset which thrives and indeed seems often to be cultivated, the remoter and the longer the owner is Furth of his native land —and nowhere more so than here in Canada. In its place I can claim an asset which I value no whit the less—a bond of acquaintance and friendship with Canada and Canadians as warm as with my land and friends at home. I came here first twenty-seven years ago—as a schoolboy in the holidays with a party of Boy Scouts. The impressions of that visit are still vivid in my mind. During the war I was honoured to serve in one of our Scottish armoured regiments, the Lothians and Border Horse, alongside your troops in a Canadian division at the crossing of the Rhine. Since the war I have been fortunate to visit Canada on business and on behalf of the Scottish Council, with increasing frequency, perhaps a dozen times in all. I have made many good and close friends, and I feel very much at home, nowhere more so than here in Toronto. And for me one of the greatest thrills I have had was to be present last Friday at your 48th Highlanders Ball, to hear that superb piping and drumming, to see the pageantry and the dancing, few things have made me feel so proud to be a Scot.

Perhaps a part of that feeling stemmed from the presence in my veins of Canadian blood—for, as your President has told you, on the distaff side I can claim direct descent from Sir William Campbell, a Chief Justice of Upper Canada. He came from Scotland with a highland regiment to fight in North America and was captured at Yorktown in 1781. On his release he settled in Nova Scotia, was called to the bar and in 1825 became Chief Justice of Upper Canada. Today I saw his portrait in Osgoode Hall and his house which still stands on Duke Street. He died in 1834, two years before your society was born, a century and a quarter ago. Your roots are indeed in history: here in Canada the families of my forebear and of other Scottish soldiers were finding their roots. At home, Sir Walter Scott had just died, Queen Victoria was about to come to the throne, Scotland's great age of industrial development was taking birth. In Canada those were tough, pioneering days, with unfriendly tribes to be held at bay while the work went ahead: not so very different from the situation of my Scottish forebears on the border two and a half centuries before—with equally unfriendly tribes a few miles to the south of them. The family motto, loosely translated from the Latin, reads, "There'll be moonlight again," not, let me make it clear for the purpose with which moonlight is sometimes associated, but because only with a full moon could they ride the rough tracks through the wild border hills, seek out the English cattle and safely drive them home.

Tonight, all over the world, Scots are gathered together. The kilt has been donned, the pipes are playing, the haggis has been brought in and addressed in the words of the time-honoured ode, though nowhere, I am certain, with more artistry and feeling than here, and in the words of one Irishman, the whisky has gone down the piper's throat like a torchlight procession. There will be convivial talk, and reminiscences of old times, and great celebrations—in the course of which Scotland's greatest export will notch up yet another record. And what if next morning there are a few sore heads?

There was once a member of a certain St. Andrew's Society who had celebrated the evening very well indeed—so much so that after pursuing a wayward path to his house, escorted by one of his comrades, he collapsed in a state of coma on the sofa in the downstairs room. In the morning he was found by his wife, still distinctly the worse for wear, and she shook him hard and said, "Tell me, Donald, who brought you home?" To which he replied, "I haven't the least idea." But she pressed him again, saying, "Surely you can at least remember what he was like?" So he thought a bit and said, "Well, all I can remember is that he was either a short man with a beard, or else a tall one with a sporran."

But surely however important it is to celebrate the feast of our patron saint, surely our greatest cause for gathering here tonight is to turn our thoughts to the land of our forefathers—to see Scotland, not only as she was, but as she is, and as she hopes to be. These far-flung celebrations remind us that no race, with the possible exception of the Jews, has travelled so widely, engaged in so many activities, and set up so many enterprises the world over as the Scot. He was indeed lived up to those famous lines of James Graham, 1st Marguess of Montrose:

He either fears his fate too much, or his deserts are small
That dares not put it to the touch, to win or lose it all.

There are some at home—not many, I am glad to say—whom bemoan this wanderlust of ours, who would have us stay at home and confine our energies to Scotland, who would seek for Scotland her own parliament and turn the border once more into a frontier, psychological if not physical. Surely this is narrow, nationalistic talk, and dangerous at that. Surely all the lessons of our time teach that if we are to prosper and have peace we must extend and strengthen the links between nations, rather than shut ourselves up within narrow, nationalistic walls.

Scotland has had an infinitely greater influence on the world than she would if her sons had stayed at home. They have been like the biblical leaven that leavens the whole lump. Last summer I was in the far north-east of Scotland, and there, on the storm-lashed coast of Caithness, where before was nothing but bog and rock and sea, is a great new atomic station employing thousands of folk. At its centre stands a vast 160-foot sphere of steel. It houses a revolutionary new kind of nuclear reactor—revolutionary because in operation it produces more fuel than it consumes—not a bad symbol, I think, of the way the Scot has influenced the world.

Look no further than Westminister. We have a government headed by a Macmillan, and numbering among its members a MacLeod, a MacKay, a Home, a Perth, a Dundee, a Grant and a MacPherson. On the Woolsack in the House of Lords sits Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe, now Lord Kilmuir, and this year we mourned the death of Shakes Morrison, a most well-loved Speaker of the House of Commons and a Son of the Croft.

Look at Canada: Scottish names are synonymous with leadership in your history, your industry, commerce and banking—in every branch of your national life. In the Toronto phone book there are no less than 20,000 Macs—not to mention 60 ashes! Why did they come here? Not just for the sake of adventure, but because a living was hard to win at home. One hundred and fifty years ago the clearances poured the Highland clans into all parts of Canada. Thirty years ago the collapse of much of our economy sent a fresh wave of Scots workers and their families to your shores—this time mainly from the industrial lowlands.

Now all that has changed. In the past quarter Century

Scotsmen have wrought their own salvation—Scotsmen at home helped by Scotsmen abroad. Problems we still have, but mass unemployment and poverty are not among them. Look at the change from the thirties, and you will see a mircle in our midst. It has been brought about by the same qualities which down the ages have enabled the Scot to maintain the existence of his nation—determination, a readiness to grapple with the hard facts of his surroundings, and to fight for the heritage which has been built up over these years.

So now Scotland is in good heart. Sixty years ago to be a Scots engineer was to be a leader in an industry in the frontiers of technical advance. So again it is now, after a long night of depression. Once more we are in the vanguard of the world's industrial march—we have passed from the defensive and are on the attack once more. Our traditional industries have a new look. At Motherwell our great steelmakers, Colvilles, are building a $150 million mill to make sheet steel. Our shipbuilders are modernizing their yards and are securing orders in the face of intense competition. At Greenoch we are building a graving dock which will take the largest ships afloat or thought of, and across the Clyde, in Loch Long, we have an oil terminal that takes the largest tankers. The oil is pumped across the waist of Scotland to Grangemouth on the forth, where there is now a vast complex of refineries and chemical plant. We have great new industries which were unknown in Scotland twenty years ago. We make business machines in Dundee and Dunbarton, electronics in Edinburgh and Fife, aero engines near Glasgow, and trucks, tractors and motor cars in Mid-Lothian, Lanarkshire and Renfrew.

But it is not just a picture of new industry for old, or alongside the old. New life and prosperity is being breathed into towns the length and breadth of Scotland, towns which for years have had little to offer in opportunity for their younger folk. A tool-works in Jedburgh, glass made in Wick, clothing in Campbeltown, fine foods in Fochabers. You all know the song about the high road and the low road. Soon there will be a new high road—the largest bridge in Europe, spanning the forth at Queensferry, and a new low road, a tunnel under the Clyde in Glasgow.

Nor have we forgotten the resources God gave us. Our Hydro schemes, small though they look beside yours, have harnessed the waters of which we have such a generous share. We are finding uses for our growing forests. Our farms are second to none in Britain—go to Perth bull sales and count the ten-gallon hats and you will know we breed the finest livestock in the World. My family have always taken a keen interest in farming and my great-grandfather was one of the pioneers in developing the short-horn breed of cattle. To his estate on the Borders, he brought down from Aberdeenshire a farm manager and a number of cattle-men. (I am delighted to find that the manager's nephew, Mr. Jock Hutcheon, is in this room tonight.) Most of these men settled into their new surroundings, but one of them did not seem to be thriving, so his wife consulted the local doctor who asked him about the symptoms and what sort of food he usually took. "Ah weel, just much the same as at hame: parridge and milk and whiles brose w' tatties and sic like." It was clear that the man was mainly dependent on farinaceous food. So the doctor said, "I think your husband should take some animal food, it will brace him up." The wife seemed rather dubious but said she would try. And in about ten days the doctor called again and found the wife not looking so cheerful. "Well", he said, "and how is your man doing on his new diet?" "Weel, he managed middlin' well wi' the neeps, and whiles, the linseed-cake, but oh Doctor, he canna thole the straw!"

So the tale I have to tell is of a Scotland which has found again its vigour and its confidence with a livelihood to offer to all who seek it, reaching out to grasp the challenge of the future. But while we look to the future, we must never forget the past—the past which has made us what we are. Much of our history is enshrined in our historic buildings, be they castles, mansions or the humble homes of ordinary folk—or our battlefields, our mountains, our coasts and islands. To preserve this heritage is our constant endeavour—and in this many of you here in Canada, and in this room, are playing a splendid part, through your generous support of the National Trust for Scotland—in this you have our warmest thanks.

Take only a few of the places it holds in trust: Culzean

Castle in Ayrshire, the little houses in Culross and Dunkeld, the mountains of Glencoe and Kintail, and the far-flung isles of St. Kilda and Fair Isle. Next May, the Trust is running a cruise specially for visitors from the Commonwealth. In the space of a week it will call at Brodick Castle in Arran, at Inveraray, at the Islands of Colonsay, Staffa and Iona, at Kisimul Castle in Barra and Dunvegan in Skye, and the Garden of Inverewe in Wester Ross. I hope that Canada will be well represented on the passenger list and that some of you will come and see for yourselves the results of your generous help.

The Trust tries not only to preserve, but to educate and tell our history. Over the next few years this will be its special aim, by displays, maps and talks at those historic sites like Glenfinnan, Culloden, Killiecrankie, Bnanockburn—names that spell out the very making of our land. So you see it is not only the material things with which we concern ourselves today. That great Scot, Philip Kerr, Lord Lothian—our Ambassador to the United States in the early years of the last war, was once discussing Scotland's contribution to the world. He said that in the field of literature, with the outstanding exception of Scott, Burns and Carlyle, it had been slight. Her only artists of international renown had been Allan Ramsay and Raeburn. She had contributed little to the refinements of life in the way that France had done.

But there had gone forth, he said, all over the world, from the grey towns and villages of Scotland and the whitewashed farm houses, a stream of men with a good basic education and high competence in some vocation, whether as bankers, doctors, engineers, agriculturists or merchants. And besides their talents, many of these Scotsmen had taken with them some intellectual interest—in economics, history, science, literature, wihch had lasted all their lives —and above all a deep faith in the religion of their fathers. So they had been an invaluable leaven in the young communites, chiefly concerned with material interests, in which they found themselves. And I would add, they have always been ready and generous in coming to the help of their brethren who have fallen on less good times—as witness the activities of your own society. And they have not been slow to lead the social and cultural life of their communities—as witness your Chairman's tireless work for the Duke of Edinburgh's study conference, the university, and many other causes.

The results are here for all to see in this great country to whose building Scotland gave so much. They are with us still, thank God, in the Scotland of today. Living in a land where the Scot is surrounded by the visible memorials of a past for which he has had to fight—and taught in a way which still lays weight on the things of the spirit—he can balance the deeper, fundamental things against the material problems of possessions and of earning his living.

Perhaps it is in this field that Scotland, in the future as in the past, can make her greatest contribution to the Commonwealth of Nations of which she is a part. The Scot, blended as he is of hard-headed Lowlander and imaginative Highlander, always aware no less of the misty isles than of the clamour around him on the factory floor, has the stuff to make this dream a reality. If he does, Scotland's contribution to the future of the world will be every bit as great as it has been to the past.

And since tonight it is to the Land of our Fathers that we turn for inspiration for that future, may I end by seeking it in those well-known lines of my kinsman Walter Scott: Mr. Turner has given me the lead, so I will follow it up:

Breathes there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
'This is my own, my native land!'

"PEOPLES AND NATIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD"

An Address by

FRANCIS LACOSTE
Ambassador of France to Canada

Thursday, December 7, 1961

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Twenty years ago today, on December 7, 1941, the Japanese launched a surprise attack against Pearl Harbour. On that date, our speaker, His Excellency Francis Lacoste, was playing an active part in the underground organizations of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the army during the German Occupation in France. Ambassador Lacoste served in the French Resistance Forces and, after the landings in France, fought with the First French Army during the Campaign for Liberation in France. He is a Commander of the Legion of Honour and holds the Croix de Guerre for Distinguished Service in World War II.

Just as Caesar's Gaul was divided into three parts, so Ambassador Lacoste's career has been divided into three parts. Before the War, he served the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, Yugoslavia and Peking. Then came the second period—the period of the War when he served in the Army and Resistance Forces. During the third period since the War, he has served his country in Washington as First Counsellor and, as well, he has presided over French Delegations dealing with Far Eastern countries of Lao and Cambodia. His excellency has also served both as Deputy Resident General in Morocco in 1948 and as Resident General of France in Morocco in 1954. It is from these points of vantage that he has gained his deep understanding of the Algerian problem. Mr. Lacoste was appointed Ambassador of France to Canada in 1955, and he first spoke to this Club in April of 1956, and on several occasions since that time.

We welcome Ambassador Lacoste as an old friend who comes to us when his country is enjoying a resurgence of power under the leadership of Charles De Gaulle, despite the many domestic and foreign problems that face France and many other countries today. From his rich background of experience, Ambassador Lacoste will speak to us on the topic "Peoples and Nations In a Changing World."

M. LACOSTE: Mr. Chairman, Messieurs les Membres de l'Empire Club of Canada. This—within six years most happily spent in your country as Ambassador of France—is no less than my *third* appearance in front of you as honoured guest and speaker of the day. Inviting me that many times has been paying me a great compliment—bestowing a great honour—one of which I must admit that I feel particularly proud.

There is a Latin dictum: *Bis repetita placent*—to express the idea that "what is twice repeated gives pleasure." It seems that, with their usual conciseness, our ancient masters contrived to cram the same notion *twice* in *three* words; and at the same time made a highly questionable assertion. Repeating anything *twice* obviously amounts to a *threefold* performance. And if they meant that repetition is in itself a pleasure-generating operation—why we all know that whether it is pleasure-generating or not depends on the "pleasure content" of the first expression. If that is nil, repetition generates only boredom.

Asking me for the *first* time, in April, 1956, was more than a courteous gesture to the newcomer that I still was in those days; it was a *courageous investment*, something like banking on the unknown, a hazardous venture, particularly meritorious on the part of great businessmen like you, normally averse to accepting uncalculated risks. Calling upon me a *second* time, in March, 1958, was a token of your *generosity*—another virtue, all the more to be noted and appreciated as it is rarely practised in this world of hard realities in which you have to live and struggle. But inviting me on this *third* occasion! I am embarrassed, Mr. Chairman. I find myself very much "on the spot" and feel under an obligation *not* to give you any "repeat performance." I should *renew* myself. But that, at my age, is easier wished than done!

Ce ne sera pas non plus en vous parlant en français, Messieurs, que je vous donnerai le sentiment d'un grand renouvellement de moi-même. Je l'ai déjà fait les deux autres fois où j'ai eu l'honneur de m'adresser à vous, et j'ai eu le satisfaction de constater que lorsque je m'exprimais ici dans ma langue natale, je n'étais pas seulement entendu, mais aussi attentivement écouté, et, ce qui est mieux encore, parfaitement compris.

Ce n'est donc pas pour vous surprendre, mais pour rendre hommage à votre connaissance de l'autre langue officielle du Canada, et pour demeurer fidèle à une tradition que j'ai moi-même établie, que j'ai tenu à vous saluer en ces quelques mots, et à vous dire mon vif plaisir de me retrouver aujourd'hui parmi vous.

My brilliant new British Colleague in Ottawa, His Excellency the High Commissioner Lord Amory (and it is not without a feeling of awe and disbelief that I call "Colleague" a former Chancellor of the Exchequer!), gave a lecture the other day at the Ottawa Branch of the Canadian Club, and opened his remarks by saying that he did not wish to do what another speaker had done on another occasion: giving the first of a series of addresses by a string of eminent professors, he entitled his own "God, Man and the Universe." Those after him felt that they had been short-changed.

I am afraid that the title of my present address is hardly less ambitious: "Peoples and Nations in a Changing World." This, gentlemen, is the result of my getting a swollen head as a consequence of your show of confidence in me, and of my corresponding desire to justify it by an attempt at renovation.

On previous occasions, I spoke about the "present-day spirit of France," then on the "Algerian problem." Now, I am indeed enlarging my scope. And it is no longer especially in description and in praise of what *is* praiseworthy in one particular Country—mine (which was and remains the obvious duty of an Ambassador)—that I propose to speak today—but rather in reflection on some of the broader aspects of some contemporary problems: both large and acute, both immense and fraught with the farthest-reaching consequences.

I would like, first, to pick up that first word: "Peoples," and to take you along in a very brief survey of the past, present and future of that concept which comprises nothing short of the whole of mankind.

It is only quite recently in the history of humanity that men have been able to know of *all* of the groups of their own kind existing on *the whole* of the planet. That global knowledge began, very gradually, only as late as in the last century. And it was only a very few years ago—since the end of the Second World War—that it became possible, mostly through the work of the Organization of the United Nations, to attempt a real general count of humanity.

Even today that count cannot be quite accurate. If the margin of error is small—indeed, you might say practically negligible, in countries like yours and mine—in Western Europe and in North America, that margin is pretty wide when it comes to continental China, for instance. But even if errors can be large absolutely, their relative importance is far less, and on the whole we are now capable of setting up figures, not only for the numbers of the population in all countries of the world but also for their rate of increase. And those figures give an approximation of the absolute truth which can be considered, from a scientific point of view, as quite tolerable.

Is it not strange, however, that we should have had all of that knowledge only so very recently? This, after all, is *our* planet, and our *own* species, and scientists believe that man appeared on the Earth about one million years ago! It is indeed, something at which we may well marvel, even if it can be so readily explained, that it should have taken us so long to become fully conscious, if not of *what* we are, at least of *how many* we are, globally, and *where* we all are, and to achieve organized, permanent relations between nearly all groups of men in the world. Now we even have an organized, permanent meeting place for representatives from nearly all those groups. This process is nearing its fulfilment under our own eyes—its most recent manifestation has been the admission by the Organization of the United Nations of its latest members—Outer Mongolia, Mauritania, Sierra Leone. Come to think of it, we are at an interesting moment of the history of our world. Some of us, the weak of heart, even think that it is *too* interesting, especially when they consider other developments, such as the incipience of the nuclear era and its terrifying consequence, the threat of the Atom Bomb and of the Hydrogen Bomb.

But that is just the reason why, being concerned with "Peoples and Nations in a Changing World," I started with those considerations about the *nose* count of humanity, before we get involved in its *blood* count. We want to know what is happening to those organized groups of men which we call states, which now embrace practically all humanity within their several units. There are a little more than one hundred of them, and they are so unequal in physical size, in population, in natural resources, in *development*! We wonder how they are going to react, singly and collectively, to those fantastic challenges now confronting them. But, at the beginning of any quest for an answer to those tremendous questions, there should be at least a short look at those dark beginnings, in order to understand the whole trend in which men are caught and along which they are moving! What little we know about the history of the numerical development of men on earth is, in itself, amazing. On the other hand, that knowledge, however scant, brings to us so vividly that feeling of rapid maturation of world problems, of constant acceleration of their evolution, of corresponding increase in their impact, in their urgency, in their imminence!

According to the most learned and scientific speculation, the total population of the Globe, in the year 10,000 before our era—in palaeolithic times—may have been about only ten million, probably less than more, all eaters of fruits and roots, hunters and fishermen.

It is likely that it was about that time that men began discovering agriculture, more or less simultaneously, in the different parts of the world. And it was about then, also, that they began building the first cities. It was the period of the beginnings of the civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt and China. And it is estimated that during those beginnings the population of the world increased *fivefold.*

Between the maturity of these civilizations and the beginning of the Christian era, it *again* increased fivefold; thus, the ten millions of men of the palaeolithic era had become, in the days of the Pharaohs and the first great Chinese empires, about fifty millions. And then those fifty millions had become, by the time of the birth of Christ, two or three hundred millions.

Only the total population of the globe did not increase so rapidly thereafter. It is estimated that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century—that is to say, about two hundred years after the discovery of the new world—the figure was around five hundred millions—so that it had taken nearly *two thousand* years to double. But, today, the figure is more than two and one-half billion. It has therefore multiplied, in two hundred years—the last two *hundred* years—more than five times! It is fantastic! But this movement, at this very moment, continues to accelerate. Even taking deaths into account, the figures for births are such that their total amounts to 100,000 more people on the Earth every day. It seems probable that this growth will continue. For we can see, now, no reason why it should be altered, except in the case of large-scale nuclear warfare, or the appearance of epidemics of incurable new diseases. So that we may expect that the number of men alive together will increase by forty millions a year—that is, four hundred millions in ten years. Or rather *more*, because of the regular addition of new surpluses. Which means much more than two billions in fifty years!

In other words, if nothing happens to change this rhythm, the world's population will more than double again in half a century, so that some scientists estimate that by the year 2000 there may be about seven billion human beings on the surface of the planet! I shall not ask you what these seven billions of human beings will use for food. I am not even trying to ask myself! And even less do I intend to seek, with you, to know what will happen when the total is ten billions! Now this, mind you, may be seen by our own great-grand children!

I had occasion to discuss the *housing* aspect of the problem with some architects some time ago, and I could not resit posing a few questions. How do you propose to lodge all these billions? I asked. How will you build—if not their "house"—for the term may well have become obsolete by then—but the place where they will live? How will you—urbanists—construct their cities? How will you, planners, organize their community life—including in that term their lives as individuals, their family life, and their life *in* society, *as* a society? How about their work and their leisure? Will there be room for vacations, for outdoor life?

"Standing-room only" on the planet, we have been told. And we certainly do not know, at this time, whether we can live, such as we are, in any appreciable numbers, for any appreciable period of time, out of this world! Maybe cosmonauts Gagarin, Titov, Shephard, Grissom, Glenn and their successors will find out!

Now, Gentlemen, you must admit that there *was* something in the title chosen by that intrepid lecturer, "God, Man and the Universe!" This, after all, is almost our modest subject for today's discussion. Man actually *is* in the process of rapidly filling that part of the universe to which, until three or four years ago, he thought that he was bound forever—out of which he is beginning briefly to escape—and beyond which, in unfathomable space, he presently has no knowledge that he can find another celestial body where he could physically breathe his natural life.

The next question obviously is: "If Man fills up his planet in the next few decades, and keeps growing in numbers, while unable to find other suitable living quarters in the universe, what does *God* do about it?"

Well, Gentlemen, I admit that it *is* a *logical* question—one from which any French Cartesian mind just cannot escape. But, nonetheless, I do not think that it is a *fair* question to ask, at least of *me*. And I modestly but firmly decline to answer it—even decline to answer the next obvious question: "At least, what do we, men, do about it?"

But even though I do not pretend to answer that last question, I believe that men do have a duty to preoccupy themselves, without delay, with such aspects of the fantastic problems involved, as are within their reach, within their range of action. For even if the species, mankind, a rather important branch of the animal realm, seems to be undergoing one of those amazing and irresistible processes of sudden numerical growth (together with a quite general growth in the size of its individuals, notable in all the main races of the globe over the last half century or so), we can meditate on its consequences and exert a limited but certain amount of influence on some of these.

In this we think that we differ from all other animal species, which are subject to the same cyclical phenomena of numerical growth or decline. We watch these phenomena for some of those species—some are becoming extinct—like that famous whooping crane whose annual migrations through Canada are followed with anxiety by your naturalists, who believe that less than thirty specimens are still in existence!

It is said that over the last hundred years or so about one hundred animal species totally disappeared. On the contrary, others, we find, are experiencing the same kind of explosion which is taking place in our own human branch, and these variations account for strange happenings in the intricate system of checks and balances which Nature seems to have provided. We have learned, for instance, that the life of the Canadian forests can be profoundly affected by what takes place in the peculiar world of a number of insects. And we must never forget that we know little beyond what we can see—and that there is little that we can explain about what little we do know!

I was told some time ago that, on the coasts of Finland, it happens periodically that there is a population explosion among a certain variety of muskrats or beavers. Their number grows until there comes a time when food runs short. Then a mysterious, awesome event takes place. There is a tremendous convention of those animals. They assemble, then wait. And suddenly, following leaders who seem to obey some deep ancestral instinct, or some inner call, their multitude starts moving in one direction—towards the sea. They march on and on until they reach the edge of the water. They wade in, start swimming, and swim on and on until they vanish in the night—never to be seen again.

And not the least part of the mystery is that their fantastic collective suicide is never total: a number of young couples—selected how?—do not join in that weird death procession. They remain and multiply, and the whole cycle starts again. In your own Arctic, lemmings do the same. What do we know? What do we know about our own cycle? Do we have one? Is this one of its phases? Has its first revolution only begun?

We may not know our own age, not know too well where we come from, when we originated, where we are going and whether there is a purpose to our being in existence, or what that purpose may be—although many of us do think that there are answers to those latter questions.

But at least we feel and believe that we are intelligent creatures, that we can think usefully, that we can reason, that we can *act* according to reason and thus wield a certain influence on our destiny, as a consequence of which we also feel *responsible*, at least to some extent, for the way in which that destiny is to be accomplished. Most men, among those who think actively, do have that sense of responsibility, single and collective, to some form or other of divinity. All true Christians certainly feel that responsibility to God. And practically all men, even if they do not rationalize it much, feel some sort of responsibility, at least to themselves and to their offspring.

We just cannot disinterest ourselves from a future that is moving upon us and upon our own children, and upon our children's children, at such an ominous rate of speed! Louis the XV, King of France, is not remembered in history only because he allowed Canada to slip through his fingers to the British, but because he is (falsely) reputed to have made that famous irresponsible statement, "Après nous le déluge!" We cannot subscribe to that!

Indeed, we are certainly doing all we can to keep *all* men happy on earth. I am naturally not going to broach here the matter of the limitation of births, although it has, besides its theological and moral aspects, very important political and international implications. But, apart from this, all statesmen, without exception, profess, and most of them sincerely practise, the greatest possible solicitude for the welfare of men, *beginning with the preservation of their lives*. While concerned with the mounting problems posed by that increase in population, we certainly want and act in every possible way to keep everybody alive and well for as long as possible. We fight disease and epidemics, we struggle for peace and we strive to prolong the span of human life. In other words, we are working as hard as we can to make the problems inherent in that famous population explosion as tough as possible. That may be ironical. But, in the first place, how could be want to do otherwise? And then, what difference would it make if we did?

All right, then: our numbers will, in all likelihood, continue to grow practically everywhere. It was considered, up to fifteen years ago, as almost axiomatic that only populations with low economic level kept a high birth-rate, and that the "rich" countries of the world, just like the "rich" people in any given country, had, and would, keep low and decreasing birth rates. But that notion has had to be revised since World War II. Look at the United States, in the New World and at France and West Germany in the Old!

It is no doubt more healthy that way, for the factors of imbalance between the populations of "rich" and "poor" countries could soon become a source of some preoccupation. Do you realize, for instance, that the population of Continental China increases *annually* by over eighteen millions, which amounts to the total number of existing Canadians? There, my friends, is a figure to meditate. . . .

The terror of our time is, of course, the possibility of a major war involving the use of nuclear bombs. So that, to all the arguments used over the centuries in favour of the banishment of war and of the promotion of the cause of peace—even at any cost—we now bear a new one: peace must be maintained, otherwise our civilizations may perish.

Peace—international peace, we mean—is a priceless blessing. It is to be prayed for, with the utmost fervour, to be worked for, to the utmost of our wits and efforts. Great sacrifices must be made to retain it when found, to preserve it when thereatened, to reconquer it when lost. But whereas there must be no limit to our efforts but that of our intelligence and our strength, there is a limit to the sacrifices we can consent to.

Vitally important as peace is, it is, nevertheless, *not* the utmost in importance. The men who ruled our nations in the two World Wars, and the men who fought them, and the men who gave their lives in those wars, qualified that notion of "peace" (as being the ultimate good) with other notions: honour, freedom, justice.

There were those who held that *peace alone*, that peace *in itself*, was the absolute good, *was* to be the utmost goal. Some held it sincerely, with a wrong sense of ideal. Others held it cynically: "Better be a living slave, than free, but dead!" There are those, today, who hold that all must be sacrificed to peace, and who give two sets of reasons for this. First, they question the contents of those high-sounding words: honour, freedom, justice. They say that whenever there are two sides, as there are bound to be in any war, there are two opposing claims to those prizes. Both armies (or both camps) *are* fighting for *honour*, both are fighting for *freedom*, both *claim* that they are fighting for *justice*. Both are right, some people say, or both are wrong, or maybe they *both* are, *both* right and wrong. So why fight? It is one of those cases of "A ciascuno la sua verita." A chacun sa vérité—"To each his own truth." The words of Pontius Pilate are echoing down the centuries to our generation: "*What* is truth?"

Well, Gentlemen, I'll say just this: If you don't have it in you to believe in one truth, but your enemy does—then you are right to prefer peace to war. War need not begin. It was won before it was fought. You have already surrendered.

The other set of reasons deserves the greatest attention, and the most careful handling. All must be sacrificed to peace, they say, because *if* nuclear war breaks out, it may not mean only a few million dead, and wholesale destruction of a few countries, and untold suffering, grief and misery to uncounted millions of inhabitants of other countries. It may mean total extermination. Who dares talk of a "just" war, they say, when the outcome may be this? Now, is there an answer to that shattering statement?

There are, indeed, many—and the first is that it *is* a statement, only a statement. Who knows that whatever we do, or do not do, whatever risks we may take by standing firm on this, or that, in which we believe, and which we think passes everything else in importance, who knows that our firmness will necessarily lead to a war? And if there *is* to be a war, who knows *for certain* what kind of a war that will be? Whether it will be another global war, or a number of simultaneous, or successive, local wars, what their extent will be, whether any use of nuclear weapons will be made, and, if so, what kind of such weapons, and again, to what extent?

There are scores of theories on these matters. They are subjects for speculation. Statesmen, military men and scientists have different ideas, and in each group there are many schools of thought. One thing remains: no one really knows, and there is no general concensus on the more or less likelihood of one guess with regard to others. But suppose there *is* one chance in a million that the worst may happen. Isn't that enough to make it a duty to all men to do *anything* to prevent it? Well, no. *Not anything.*

The time has come for us to ask ourselves the final questions. What is it that matters more than life? What, in this tremendous debate about the moral issues involved in peace and war, is the *limit* of our responsibility?

Even if one chance in a million to have all-out atomic war, with all its conceivable—or inconceivable—consequences, is enough to make it a duty to all men to do anything to prevent war, is there a ration, a percentage of chances, at which that duty becomes imperative? This question reminds one of the famous Latin saw about the horse's tail: one hair is *not* a tail; one thousand hairs is a tail. At which number of hairs does there *begin* to be a tail?

The issue of war and peace is not a domain where arithmetic can have the final word. There are far too many factors—too many that are "imponderable"—whose weight just *cannot* be estimated. It is rather in other fields that we must look for the justification of that assertion, that we cannot sacrifice just anything as the price for peace, even in the face of annihilation, because certain things are too valuable to be sacrificed.

Life, dear as it is to us, dear as it must be *in itself*, for itself, *apart* from the personal fate of any people, or even of any nation—surely physical life cannot be considered as the ultimate boon. It is in the very essence of life to be transient, to have a beginning, a rise, a decline, *and an end.* Does this not apply to the existence of mankind?

Let us be careful not to allow pride to carry us too far aloft. *We are only men!* Let us spare ourselves the ridicule and the folly of believing that such consequences are left *entirely*, or *finally*, to *us*, to *our* decisions, or to *our* actions. Do we, or do we not, believe in *Providence*? If we believe in it, we believe also, implicitly, that we are not completely abandoned to ourselves. We know that, even when we are trying and doing our very best, we are just fumbling along, and that it never is exclusively to our faults, or to our deserts, that we owe our falls, or our achievements.

I hold that peace can best be preserved by giving first consideration to the preservation of those values, which we place above life itself, for one single undue concession may lead to demands from the other part, for further unacceptable conditions, which finally make war unavoidable, where earlier firmness could have staved it off—maybe indefinitely.

If, as we hope, world peace is to be preserved, we must, nonetheless, envisage the issues which lie beyond the spectre of that haunting and paralyzing peril. Let us take another look at our planet.

We have already seen that population and states are, from the point of view of demography and of political geography, the basic elements of the problems of "Man on Earth": so many hundreds of millions of men, forming groups separated by innumerable and sometimes abysmal differences in character and in essence, due to race, colour, language, religion, tradition, wealth; most unequally divided among over a hundred states; and states themselves most unequal in type and in resources—but all claiming to be independent and sovereign. That is the baffling, the bewildering, picture.

But what is there in a state? What is a people? What is a nation? An illustrious French writer, better, but less favourably, known among religious circles for a very free-thinking history of the life of Jesus, Ernest Renan, has devoted an admirable little book to the definition of those elusive entities, the names of which most people use in utter confusion, and which are called "population," "people," "race," "nation," "Kingdom," "empire," "State." The gist of the message is that it is not enough to have, inside a given territory, a certain number of people, constituting the population of that territory, and possessed of a government, for anyone to say that there is a nation. You may have a country, you may have a state, you may have a kingdom or an empire—but not necessarily a nation. You may find only one religion or one language among that people, inside that country, within the boundaries of that state. But there may still not be a Nation.

Whereas you may have a number of people of different religions, different languages, sometimes deprived of a government, sometimes exiled from a land that used to be theirs, sometimes scattered and dispersed and mingled with other elements. And nonetheless those people may truly form a nation. The annals of history are full of such examples. Think of the Jews exiled in Egypt, of the Poles with their territory divided among three conquerors, of the Swiss speaking four different languages, and practising two main religions. Who would dare contest that those *are* nations?

And here is Renan's definition: "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. It rests on three essential elements: one is the possession in common, by a group of men, of a rich legacy of memories; another is their mutual desire and consent to live together in the present; the last is their will to continue to accomplish great things together in the future."

How many of the one hundred and three states which today make up the United Nations could in all conscience give a satisfactory accouunt of themselves as nations, according to that simple, just, but exacting definition? Think about that! Take them one by one! How many?

I do not think that I have to go into any detail to convince you of the inherent artificiality of a very large part of the present political set-up on our planet. As a consequence, it is extremely unstable and precarious. But that incredible puzzle drawn on the face of our globe by the borders of these more than one hundred sovereign states, dividing among them the three billion men who live on it, is what we have to work with, even though we may find ourselves caught between a sovereign China of six hundred and fifty million men on the one hand, and a sovereign Liechtenstein of fifteen thousand on the other—to say nothing of the dizzying inequalities between these and all others. That is the great paradox of "peoples and nations in this changing world."

It changes too fast for our antiquated system to follow. And the irony of it is that, in the process of finalizing the emancipation of certain populations, we are aggravating an already most unsatisfactory condition. This may be a necessary or at least an unavoidable stage, and we surely have to make the most of it. But if you think in terms of the *adventure of man*, of its ever increasing velocity, of its mounting momentum, most of our present concerns are dwarfed almost into insignificance.

Against such a background of immeasurability in space, of infinity in time, with such a scale of magnitude in the problems of tomorrow, we should not worry too much about the present. And while it would be even more futile to worry too much about the future, we should perhaps devote more of our thinking, and of our efforts, to give to the solution of our contemporary difficulties an orientation that would at least *prepare* that future. We, in Western Europe, believe that our Common Market, for instance, belongs to the category of moves which do, in fact, prepare it.

We must, indeed, even now, start laying our base camps for a better attack on the not so distant major problems which are beginning to loom on the horizon, and which, with God's grace, will be solved by our children and our children's children—by the men and women of our era's Second Millennium.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. John L. Bonus.

Christmas Meeting

with

THE TORONTO MEN TEACHERS' CHOIR

Thursday, December 14th, 1961

CHAIRMAN: The President, Z. S. Phimister.

MR. PHIMISTER: The Board of Directors and the Members of the Empire Club of Canada and their friends wish to extend a special welcome to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. McKay, the representatives of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth in the Province of Ontario, who are our guests of honour today. We know that the Queen has just concluded a long and perhaps hazardous journey in Africa and we read of the high respect in which the Queen is held everywhere in that troubled continent. While journeys in Ontario may not be quite so hazardous, the demands of the office of Lieutenant Governor are many and arduous and we would like Your Honour and Mrs. McKay to know that we are appreciative of your presence here today in the midst of so many demands on your time and energy. This is the spirit of service for which the Crown stands and no one could better exemplify these high standards of family life and service to others than those who hold the high office of representing the Queen in this province. We are very happy to have you with us today and we extend to you a very warm welcome.

After a reply by the Lieutenant Governor, the Chairman introduces the Head Table and continued—Some of you will have observed that the one head table guest not introduced was the Past President of this club. Mr. Alexander Stark who served as President last year with such notable distinction, is known among his colleagues on the Board of Directors for his good judgment and for the outstanding service which he has rendered to this club over a number of years. Not only did he grace the Preident's role with wit and humour but he brought his great abilities to bear on the affairs of the club with great distinction to himself and with honour to the club. Therefore without further words I should like to ask Mr. Alexander Stark to accept this scroll which records his period of service as President as a token of appreciation from the Board of Directors and the Members of the club.

Mr. Stark may I present you with this scroll as a token of appreciation of your work for the club.

The Chairman proceeds to introduce our special guests.

The Toronto Men Teachers' Choir is made up of Public and High School teachers, principals, supervisors and inspectors from the Toronto area under the outstanding leadership of the Director of Music for Toronto Schools, Mr. Harvey Perrin.

The choir was organized in 1942 and since that time over 450 men whose names have appeared on its rolls have experienced the fellowship and enjoyment which comes from singing together.

Over the years the choirs' artistry has become well known throughout a large part of Canada and the United States. Appearances in Cleveland, Atlantic City (where the men sang to one audience of more than 15,000), Pittsburg, Detroit, Flint, Ann Arbor, Erie, Rochester, Syracuse, and other American cities have brought them international recognition. While most of their 400 concerts have been given in the Toronto area, over 30 Canadian cities and towns have been visited by the choir including the City of Montreal.

Recently the *London Free Press* carried the following statement:

> "It is a choir of which any city might be proud and Metropolitan Toronto should be gratified that among the teaching profession there can be formed such a good singing ambassador."

"Ambassadors of song" they have been because with each audience they have striven to leave the sense of joy and good fellowship, which comes from making music together.

This choir then presented a programme of Christmas music under the direction of Mr. Harvey Perrin. On behalf of the members present, Mr. Phimister thanked the choir.

"WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF YOUR DOLLAR?"

An Address by

LT. GEN. HOWARD D. GRAHAM
President, Toronto Stock Exchange

Thursday, January 11th, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: It might be said that our speaker today, Lt. Gen. Howard D. Graham, needs no introduction to the members of this Club, in that he is the second vice-president of the Club and a well-known figure in military and business circles in this city. However, because we sometimes fail to recognize the considerable achievements of those who are familiar to us, I should like to refresh your memories with respect to the place which General Graham occupies in national and international affairs. General Graham began his military service as a private soldier in France in the First World War. He ended that service with the rank of Lieutenant General and Chief of the General Staff in 1958. In recognition of distinguished military service, he was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire; was twice awarded the Distinguished Service Order for gallantry in action; was made an officer of the Legion of Honour and awarded the Croix de Guerre from France, and was appointed an Officer of the Legion of Merit of the United States.

Between the two world wars, General Graham practised his profession of law, was active in political affairs and maintained a keen interest in military matters, being an active member of the Canadian Militia. On entry of Canada into the Second World War, on September 1, 1939, General Graham—or Major Graham as he then was—went on active service and, from 1939 to 1945, served continuously in the United Kingdom, Sicily, Italy and Northwest Germany. After the war, he continued in the army and, from 1955 to 1958, was the Chief of the Canadian General Staff.

Following retirement from the army in 1958, General Graham undertook two important commissions for the Canadian Government which brought him in contact with provincial and municipal officials in all parts of the country. The first was a study of the civil defence organizations throughout Canada, and the second task was that of planning, organizing and conducting the tour of Canada for the Queen and Duke of Edinburgh in 1959. On completion of the tour, he returned for a short time to the profession of law and was one of counsel associated with the well-known Toronto legal firm of McCarthy & McCarthy until his appointment as President of the Toronto Stock Exchange.

General Graham has only recently returned from a tour of the Stock Exchanges in Europe. With his wealth of background and his insight into the financial problems of the day, General Graham is eminently qualified to speak to us on the topic "WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF YOUR DOLLAR?". Gentlemen, I present to you the Second Vice-President of The Empire Club of Canada, Lieutenant General Howard D. Graham.

MR. GRAHAM: I am grateful, Mr. President, for your very generous words of introduction, and I also appreciate the honour of being invited to address The Empire Club of Canada.

At the Toronto Stock Exchange, we like to think that all transactions that come to our notice are "at arm's length", but I am afraid, on this occasion today, one could say that my speaking to this group is not "at arm's length" because, as you have intimated, it is unusual, to say the least, for a Vice President of the Club to inflict an address upon his fellow members.

I said I would speak upon the subject "What Is The Future Of Your Dollar?". I regret to say that this morning, when I had a look at my crystal ball in an effort to get a clear picture of the future of the Canadian dollar, it was very misty and obscure; in other words, I feel that I cannot really at this time say what, for example, the value of your dollar will be vis-a-vis the American dollar in a year's time. However, I *can* tell you of a few things which will have an effect upon our currency, and this I will try to do.

As you probably know, I spent some two months in Europe last fall and visited a large number of Stock Exchanges in British and Continental cities, and also called upon a large number of bankers, brokers and other types of investment dealers. My purpose in making these visits was to learn what I could of the operations of the Stock Exchanges in these foreign places, and to learn, also, from the members of the investment industry what they thought about Canada, Canadians and Canadian securities, and it is my reaction to these talks that I will pass on to you today.

In Britain, possibly because they considered me a "member of the family"—and, as you know, members of a family usually speak quite frankly to one another—they spoke frankly to me about what they thought of Canada and Canadian securities. You must remember that I arrived not long after two Canadian Ministers, Messrs. Fleming and Hees, had attended a Commonwealth Conference in Accra. They had spoken, apparently, in very strong terms against Britain's entry into the Common Market, and their speeches had received a great deal of publicity in the United Kingdom. The result was that this subject of Canada's attitude toward Britain's entry into the Common Market was almost invariably one of the first matters that was raised in my discussions. In many cases, the British broker was quick to point out that there was a great imbalance of trade between Canada and the United Kingdom, and they quoted figures to show that some 300 million dollars more in goods was purchased annually by Britain from Canada than we from her. It was made quite plain to me that had Canada and other Commonwealth countries diverted more of their buying power to Britain, she might not find herself in the position where she now felt she must join with her European neighbours, even though it might prove detrimental to her trading relationships with the Commonwealth. I am not going to discuss here the merits of this British attitude, but I am sure you can quite well understand why they were critical of the outspoken stand taken by our Ministers.

A second matter that was raised, and which certainly affects the British attitude toward Canadian investments, was the B.C. Electric expropriation by the British Columbia Government and the fixing of a price without reference to an independent arbitrator. This also had occurred just a few weeks before my arrival in Europe, and I was amazed at the number of brokers who apparently had clients owning the stock of British Columbia Power Corporation. In most instances, I think it was appreciated that public utilities may very well be taken over by municipal or some other government, because this is a trend that has been developed in recent years. The strong criticism in this case was of the way in which it was done—that is, without arbitration. This action, of course, was very difficult—and, in fact, impossible—to defend, but I was able to give some of the political background which had led up to the act of expropriation. This action also gave rise to the fear that other provinces might follow the lead of British Columbia and take similar action with reference to utilities under provincial control. You can well see that this would influence the investor's attitude toward *some* types of Canadian securities at least.

The third matter which apparently received a considerable amount of publicity in the foreign press, and which gave rise to uncertainty about Canadian stability and investments, was the controversy which had such a prominent place in our press a few months ago between the Government and the Governor of the Bank of Canada. The British could not understand how adult people in positions of responsibility and importance could be involved in a public acrimonious discussion such as happened here last summer. This business did nothing to improve opinions of, or increase confidence in, Canada.

Another matter allied closely with this row between the Government and the Bank of Canada was the action and the future of the Canadian dollar. There seemed to be a feeling that our Government should make some unequivocal statement with reference to their intention in connection with Canadian currency, and, until this is done, the foreign investor is going to be slow in putting additional capital in any great quantity in this country. It was hoped over there that we would follow a practice common in most countries, where the Government states that it would permit a fluctuation in the price of its currency between certain limited points and that, if the value increases or decreases beyond those points, the Government would move in to bring it back to the declared area.

I found, also, a feeling of disappointment that Canadian securities had not appreciated in value as quickly during the past five or six years as many overseas investors had hoped and had been led to believe by Canadians or Canadian representatives who had sold securities in the mid-50's or shortly thereafter. In fact, of course, some British and many European shares have had phenomenal increases in value, whereas the growth of our good stocks has been more gradual and less sensational. The upward trend in European securities, of course, is now levelling off and is, in fact, about the same as in Canada.

I would like to say here that Canadian promoters, and perhaps some brokers or their overseas representatives, have some responsibility for over-selling or being overly-enthusiastic about Canadian securities some four or five years ago, and I hope that this practice will be discontinued. But the British and European investors themselves must bear some responsibility for paying too high a price for some Canadian securities just after the mid-50's. I reminded them that toward the end of 1956, when the Suez crisis was at its peak, there was a genuine fear that war might break out in Europe and, for some reason, they seemed to think that this continent would be spared from such conflict, and, as a result, they were indeed anxious to invest on tthis side of the Atlantic even though at that time the dollar was at a very high premium. Nevertheless, people are inclined to forget some of the reasons for making their investments and blame only the other fellow if they have not appreciated as much as the investor would have wished.

And, finally, in this long list of complaints or examples of dissatisfaction, I just want to mention unemployment. I believe that opposition parties in power and the press do a great disservice to Canada in making political capital of a problem which we have always had and always will have, and which will always be worse during the winter season when our climate prevents large-scale construction and other operations out of doors. The press I cannot blame too much for reporting what is said in our parliaments, nor do I point the finger at any particular political party, because both the old parties and the Socialist party have been guilty of making loud noises in Parliament concerning the unemployed. These statements, of course, are published abroad and accepted as evidence that Canada is in a very bad economic position indeed. This is particularly so when one remembers that in the countries of the Common Market there is full employment, and even over-employment, except in Italy. Labour is being imported into Germany and France from Southern Italy and Spain. Because of the proximity of these countries to the employment market, the unskilled labourer does not bring his family with him, but usually moves into the country where jobs are available and lives there as a boarder for some eight or nine months of the year. I believe it is a custom that in December, before Christmas, most of these people return to their homes and their families in the sunny South and stay there enjoying their probably hard-earned marks or francs until the weather warms up and they go North again for another nine or ten months. This is a happy arrangement for all concerned, but one which, unfortunately, we cannot very well introduce into Canada.

I am sure you must think me very pessimistic, and this has been rather a dreary account of my impressions as to what the British and the Europeans think of Canada and Canadian securities. On the positive and brighter side, it is accepted that we are a stable people, that we have a stable government, whichever party it may be, and that, in the long term, good investments in Canada will pay off. And when I say they think of us as having a stable government and being a stable people, you must remember that the European looks to the whole world when he is looking for investment. We here are inclined to be rather parochial in our outlook, situated as we are with the icy Arctic as our Northern neighbour, two oceans on the East and West, and the United States on the South. We have in the past —although perhaps now we are looking further afield— tended to look, if not within our own borders, then only to our great neighbours to the South. Europeans, on the other hand, because of their world-wide interests and for other reasons, look to countries such as Japan, South Africa, India, Australia, South America, and so on, when they are considering trade and investment. There is also, of course, the feeling that we have still great natural resources which are going to be needed in Europe and other parts of the world, and which for many years to come will continue to bolster and support our economy.

I have been talking to you about the attitude of the European investor toward Canadian securities, because, of course, the inflow of capital has an effect upon the value of the Canadian dollar. Another factor that weighs heavily in fixing the value of our currency is foreign trade, and I would like to tell you some of the impressions I got from my visit to four of the six countries which comprise the European economic community—that is, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and France. Luxembourg and Italy, the other two countries, I did not visit on this occasion.

Perhaps it would be interesting if I first reviewed the reasons and events which led up to the formation of this European Economic Community, or, as it is better known, the Common Market. It was not long after the end of the Second World War before it became apparent that if the Federal Republic of Germany was to recover from the ravages of the war, and if its people were to become self-supporting, they must have the opportunity for external trade, and, if they were to have external trade, they must have steel; and, to have steel, they must have coal and the means of making steel. It so happens that the coal, iron ore, and the mills and smelters, all of which are necessary to the steel industry, are located in the lower valley of the Rhine in an area within the boundaries of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Germany.

Faced with these facts, Jean Monet—in my opinion, one of the greatest Frenchmen of all time—conceived the idea of establishing an organization which would use the resources—that is, the coal, the iron, the mills, the labour, etc.—from all the European countries in the production of iron and steel; this organization would represent the countries concerned, but would be of a supra-national character and would be made up of representatives of these countries; however, it would not be responsible to the countries individually, but only to the "Community" (as it was called) of all six—that is to say, Italy was added to the five countries I mentioned above. Britain sat in on the early discussions which led to this European Coal and Steel Community, as it is called, but, for a number of reasons which I will not go into now—principally because she did not wish to give up any of her powers of sovereignty—she withdrew from the discussions. Robert Schumann, Foreign Minister of France, Spaak of Belgium and Adenauer of Germany all lent their support to this great new, international experiment in economic co-operation in the field of coal, iron and steel. We know today how successful it has been under the enthusastic and loyal guidance of Jean Monet, who was named first President of the Community.

So successful was this experiment that it soon became apparent to the governments of the six countries concerned that an extension of the scheme might well be made so that all goods, money and labour would move freely between the six countries, and, in fact, there might eventually be a political unit in the form of a federation such as we have today in Canada. We have ten provinces, each with certain powers under the British North America Act, but with the federal authority binding all ten provinces together and itself having a certain area of responsibility and authority. This is the sort of thing that it is expected will eventually develop from the European Economic Community.

But I am just a little ahead of myself. The Foreign Ministers of The Six met at Massena in June 1955 and appointed a commitee to study the possibility of an arrangement and an organization which would permit this free movement that I have spoken of, and, in addition, would permit free interchange of information concerning atomic energy. Paul Henri Spaak was appointed as Chairman of the committee. In an incredibly short time, Spaak and his committee made their report—actually, in April 1956—only nine months after the committee was formed. The report was favourably received, and work began on the drafting of a treaty, which, in March 1957, was ready and signed, and so came into being the Treaty of Rome. Again, Britain had been consulted and had an opportunity to enter the organization at that time, but again, because she felt she would be placed in an inferior position and would have to give up certain sovereign rights, she chose to withdraw.

In November, you had the privilege of hearing Professor Macdonald of the University of Toronto, who spoke on the subject of "Inside the Common Market" and quoted to you figures and facts which indicated very clearly the great success that the European Economic Community is achieving, just as the European Coal and Steel Community had during the past ten years. I think that, because the Common Market is proving a success and there is still full employment in those countries, and because there is industrial growth and room for capital investment within their own borders, and possibilities of greater and better competition against countries outside the Community, they are inclined to be more critical of our securities and policies than would be the case if they were suffering unemployment and economic setbacks. This high morale on the part of the European group, I believe will continue. Success breeds confidence, enthusiasm, and more success.

Then, too, all of these countries have suffered hardships and adversities such as we in this country have never known. This has strengthened their invidivual will to recover from these adversities—and I will name them. The Netherlands was occupied during the war, many of their people were killed, much of their land inundated, some of their cities destroyed, and they faced veritable starvation. After liberation, they lost their Far Eastern colonies and are now determined to make up for these losses and become a great trading power within The Six. Belgium has lost her African colonies, or most of them, and, to a degree, has lost some world respect because of the way in which she handled the Congo problems. Germany was a defeated nation, with great areas devastated and destroyed, and millions of her men lost. France was defeated and occupied, and, for the second time within the life of man, had great areas of Northern France damaged or destroyed.

Now, under the influence of the Common Market, common policies and the probability of political union, all these countries picture themselves forming a great, powerful bloc which will be able to withstand attack from the East or economic subservience from the West. All this, of course, is not being accomplished as easily as you might think. Many industries in the various countries which were operating at a loss or without real efficiency have had to change their business, in some cases merge, and sometimes even sell out or discontinue. There must be some dislocation of labour; there must, in fact, be a great deal of control exercised by the supra-national authority, and, if this control is to be effective, there must also be discipline. This control and dicipline is something that we in Canada, I think, would find hard to accept.

But in addition to the plans for economic co-operation, and in addition to the determination, born of adversity, that these countires shall prosper, there is a *third* and *equally*—or perhaps still more—important factor which is affecting the European Community. This factor is the very apparent close and co-operative attitude of labour, management and government. All three of these vital elements seem to have the supra national interest of the Community at heart and are prepared, when necessary, to modify, or even subjugate, their own sectional interests to ensure the attainment of the Community goal. The Community goal, of course, is to make Europe a great and powerful economic unit which can compete with the United States, with Russia, or with any other group or bloc in the East or in the West.

Now, I have told you of the European attitude to Canada and Canadian securities as I saw it three months ago, and I have tried to show the reasons for the formation of the Communities and why those great experiments in international co-operation are succeeding. Many people have said that we Canadians should do thus and so, in order that we are not left in the cold, hanging by our fingertips to the Arctic circle.

I do not pretend to know the answer to our problem. I do know that our Government has in its service dedicated and able people who are not completely uninformed about the Treaty of Rome and the goings-on in Europe. I know that our Government, with the aid of those able servants, are dedicated to the designing and implementation of programmes which are in the best interests of the Canadian people.

But no government *alone* can solve these problems—no government *alone* can meet the challenge of Europe or of any other bloc or state. Surely there must be in Canada, as there is now in Europe, a much closer and more cooperative association between the "big three"—government, management and labour? How this can be brought about, I do not know, but unless this close and sympathetic association is accomplished, our efforts to capture foreign markets are doomed to failure and your dollar will be worth fewer cents.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. J. R. Woods.

"EMERGENCY IN THE CONGO"

An Address by

DR. F. L. LAWSON

Thursday, January 18, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. Eye witnesses to events are much sought after, for they bring us first-hand knowledge. Today we are very pleased to have as our speaker Dr. F. L. Lawson, who served with a Canadian Red Cross Society Emergency Medical Team in the Congo from April to July in 1961. Dr. Lawson had also served with the Canadian Army in the Far East during the Korean War period, with the rank of Major. For a time he was Surgeon to the British Commonwealth Division. At the present time he is Surgical Consultant to the Ontario Hospital at Cobourg, and he carries on a private practice there.

The Congo has been much in the news lately, and the efforts of Katanga to remain separate, and the attitudes of the great powers to this effort, have provided a puzzling situation for the casual newspaper reader. Dr. Lawson, who bears a name honoured in The Empire Club, has been an eye witness to events in the Congo and it is a pleasure for me to introduce him at this time, when he will speak on the topic "Emergency in the Congo."

DR. LAWSON: It was not many days ago that a report from Washington, summarizing President Kennedy's first year in office, had this to say: Overseas there is little to cheer about. East and West Germany are more separated than ever by The Wall. Laos and South Vietnam are extremely shaky. NATO is deeply divided over the defence of Europe, the liberation of Africa, and the increasingly complex role of an assertive and financially bankrupt United Nations. And the Congo is the Congo, only worse.

"The Congo is the Congo, only worse." In the short time at my disposal it will not be possible to go into the complex political and military situations in the Congo, nor need I, for I am sure that you will be just as confused by reading about it in the daily press as if I tried to explain it to you. However, just to consolidate your confusion, I will remind you that this ex-Belgian land currently occupying so much space in the newspapers, this country to which Katanga may or may not belong, is now known as the Republic of the Congo and not the Congo Republic. The latter is a completely separate and peaceful little country on the near side of the Congo River, just across from Leopoldville.

It would be futile, and not even desirable, to gloss over the fact that the Congo crisis of 1961-61 was no natural disaster. Two human factors were involved, the Belgians and the Congolese: The Belgians, of course, are people like ourselves, and some of those present here today may very well be of Belgian origin. The Congolese, on the other hand, are very different from us: they are different in colour, their culture is different, their health and longevity are different, their standard of living is different, their philosophy of life is different, very definitely their opportunities are different and, for seventy-five years or more, they were a subject people. Yet, despite these differences, in many ways the Congolese are similar to the people of Canada, similar to you and to me. For example, there are very few geniuses amongst them, many of them are not overly fond of work, a certain percentage get drunk on Saturday night, they get involved in brawls, they not infrequently injure one another with hunting weapons, more than occasionally one of them sleeps with the wrong spouse, they like political power and some are not above embezzlement and graft, they commit murder and rape, they catch tuberculosis and venereal disease, they work in many cases for extra-territorial employers, their women like to paint up their faces, they get the doctor up at night to see their sick child, they live as primitively as the people who summer at Muskoka, and they have their psychiatric problems. As you can see, when viewed in this light, they are not so different from ourselves. Certainly they are neither better nor worse than we are. About 14,000,000 of these native people live in the Congo and their ancestors were there long before the white man came. For the most part they are Bantus, of that same race which the South African considers to be inferior, but there is an admixture from many sources. Composed of some 200 tribes speaking 38 main languages and a multitude of dialects, the native population has never been well-united, for inter-communication has been a problem.

The Belgians for 52 years, from 1908 to 1960, occupied the Congo and operated as a colony this vast and wealthy land which extends some 1,500 miles from one extreme to the other. They lived in the Congo about 60,000 strong and ran the country in a very humanitarian manner, in the strongest possible contrast to Leopold II, whose domain it had been in previous years. They leaned over backward to avoid racial tension at all costs. They built large, beautiful and modern cities, such as Leopoldville, Stanleyville, and Eliazbethville, with separate sections for whites and blacks. They constructed roads, though to be sure all too few and too poor. They established plantations and dug mines, and provided much in the way of gainful employment for both European and African. And they set up an efficient and up-to-date medical and public health service, through which the native Congolese received medical and surgical care essentially free of charge.

In running the Congo and its people, the Belgians were doing what in many ways was a wonderful job. They were proud of their accomplishments and felt that they were doing the right thing by the natives. In truth, the Congolesse people probably never had it so good. They had jobs, they had money, they had free medical care, and they had white people to think for them. But the Belgians had a blind spot. They were too paternalistic. Some of them believed that the natives had minds of limited capacity and were quite uneducable. Many recognized that the Congolese could be taught, but thought that their assumption of the white man's role would take decades if not centuries. Still others were determined, whatever the natives' capacity to learn, to keep the white supremacy. But whatever their thinking, the Belgians were blind. Despite the fact that 16 other colonies and protectorates in Africa were to assume nationhood in 1960, they failed to appreciate until too late that nationalism was rampant, that ready or not the natives were going to take over. And take over they did, on June 30, 1960. Even up to the last moment the Belgians might have been able to arrange a partnership, and the Congolese would have been better off if they had. But the Belgians were blind. So they lost the Belgian Congo, their fabulous African treasure.

With the coming of Independence, the position of many of the Belgians became untenable. Those who had treated the Congolese harshly or had acted as lord and master had to flee. Others, though well-accepted by the natives, were not too happy with their new status, servants of the new Congolese administrators, and left. To be sure, some of the Belgians loved the country so much that they stayed on regardless. However, whatever the men did, in most regions of the country it was considered unsafe for white women to remain in the Congo in the early days after Independence. It was difficult to reason with a people so proud, so stubborn, so impulsive, and still so close to the savage state. The Congolese men could see no reason why, when they took over the jobs of the whites, they should not take over their homes and their wives too.

The blind spot of the Belgians brought about an unprecedented situation after Independence. Because of their paternalistic policy, no native professional people whatsoever had been trained, no senior civil servants, no army, navy or air officers, no doctors or dentists, no lawyers, no architects, no engineers, no scientists, no political figures. The fantastic nature of this mistake—or miscalculation or mismanagement, call it what you will—can be appreciated when one considers how the British have prepared their colonies and protectorates for independence, by training military men and civil servants to the highest rank, and sending key political, economic and scientific figures to universities at home. After Independence most of the 760 doctors in the Congo (all white) left, a few because they were forced out, others because their families were no longer safe, but most because they no longer wished to work in hospitals where they had ceased to have authority. Even in countries with great poverty and illness, like China and India, there are native doctors, many of them, and good ones. Not so in the new Republic of the Congo. When the Belgian doctors departed, it left much of the country virtually without professional medical care. This presented a great public health problem with international implications. Malaria, sleeping sickness, amebiasis, hookwork, yellow fever and other tropical diseases know no boundaries. It was essential to keep these diseases under control in the Congo, so that they would not spread to other countries. And quite apart from the communicable diseases, the Congolese required personal medical and surgical care, for they are subject to many of the ordinary ills of mankind. Without question it was a medical emergency, of sudden onset and almost unprecedented magnitude. This was quickly appreciated by the World Health Organization of the United Nations, which without delay turned for help to that body which exists for the emergency situation, for the relief of suffering, and for the saving of lives, namely the Red Cross.

At this point I wish to digress for a moment to answer two questions that may come to your minds: (1) How was it that the United Nations in the guise of WHO was right on the spot in the Congo even as the crisis developed? (2) What form of organization permitted the Red Cross to help in a situation like this?

(1) The reason that the World Health Organization saw and recognized the public health crisis in the Congo arising at first hand was that since 1952 it had been taking an increasingly active interest in the health of equatorial Africa as a whole, working in Nigeria, Ghana, and many other countries. Through its Regional Office established in that year, the WHO had been assisting these governments in their efforts to improve health conditions in Africa. This

was accomplished partly by training personnel at all levels from the medical doctor to the most humble health auxiliary in the bush; partly by developing field services for maternal and child welfare, nursing, nutrition, environmental sanitation and hygiene, and health education; and partly by setting up pilot areas for the study, research and treatment of malaria, leprosy, sleeping sickness and other equally serious tropical and non-tropical diseases. Specialists were provided both by organizing training courses locally and by awarding fellowships for study in other countries, the latter an example of international co-operation at its best. These various means of assistance accounted for some 90% of the combined budgets for Africa of the WHO, the UN Technical Assistance Board, and the UN International Children's Emergency Fund (or UNICEF). You may ask: What have been the results of all these efforts over the past ten years? My answer is: in terms of improved health for millions of Africans, they have been astronomical, but their cost has been only that of two days' preparation for a flight to the moon.

(2) The Red Cross emblem, a red cross on a white ground, is the symbol of the Geneva Conventions, one of the world's greatest codes of law. The Charter of the Canadian Red Cross Society, in keeping with this, states that the purposes of the Society are: To furnish volunteer aid to the sick and wounded of armies in time of war; to carry on and assist in work for the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world, during peace or war. In fulfilling its Charter, the Canadian Red Cross Society provides services to the armed forces and veterans, disaster services, health services, nursing services, and welfare services, in addition to international relief. Falling within its province in Canada are such varied and important activities as the National Blood Transfusion Service, the Water Safety Service, the Outpost Hospitals, and the Red Cross Lodges, as well as many others. These tasks now occupy the volunteered time of many thousands of Canadians, working out of some 1,200 branches throughout our country.

The Canadian Red Cross Society is but one of 87 national Red Cross societies which are linked together by common ideals and common purposes in a world federation known as the League of Red Cross Societies. The League is primarily a co-ordinating body, particularly in the field of international relief. The supreme governing body in the world of Red Cross is the International Red Cross Conference which includes representatives from all national Red Cross societies, from the League, and from the International Committee of the Red Cross. This latter is the direct heir of the Committee of Five, which founded the Red Cross in 1863. It is an autonomous and neutral body, composed entirely of Swiss citizens, limited to 25 in number, whose services are strictly voluntary. It is the guardian of the Geneva Conventions and of the Red Cross emblem. Most important, this International Committee is the recognized neutral intermediary between belligerent powers in time of conflict, and as such was able to assume responsibility for all international Red Cross action in the Congo.

Let us return to our story. It was an emergency situation. The World Health Organization had turned to the Red Cross for help. The International Committee of the Red Cross, in co-operation with the League of Red Cross Societies, offered the new Congolese Government to provide medical relief for six months, by which time it was hoped that a more permanent solution might be found. When the offer was accepted, the national Red Cross societies of some twenty countries quickly recruited medical teams which were dispatched at once to the Congo, where they were posted to various hospitals throughout the country. There were teams from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, East and West Germany, Japan, India, Pakistan, Egypt, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Ireland, Greece, Australia and Canada, though none were recruited from Belgium or from the great powers, the United States, Russia and Great Britain. Early in the emergency a Canadian Red Cross team including Dr. Jonathan Sinclair and Nursing Sister Korlu of Toronto was sent into the Coquilhatville district, and Canadians served also in Leopoldville and elsewhere. Later on Canadian teams were limited to men only, because it was felt that women might not be safe. When the six months promised were up, that is at the end of December, 1960, the emergency still existed. Sufficient replacements had not been found by that time for the departed Belgian doctors, so perforce the Red Cross relief period was extended another six months to June 30, 1961.

The Canadian Red Cross medical team, which I joined in the spring of 1961, was serving in the little town of Gemena in the province of Equateur in the north-west part of the Congo, at the opposite extreme of the country to Katanga, where so much strife has been going on in recent months. I replaced Dr. Khazei and served alongside Dr. Sarkis. You will recall that these two doctors were mentioned at length in Ralph Allen's article on the Congo in *Maclean's*. Gemena is a place about the size of Cobourg or Port Hope, but that is as far as the similarity goes. It has a rather central portion in which, prior to Independence, a small number of white people lived in well-constructed, good-looking homes, and a great suburb where lived many thousand of natives in very primitive dwellings.

As Gemena is the central point, and now I believe actually the political centre, of the Ubangi District, a million-dollar hospital with about 200 general beds plus some 130 outlying beds for tuberculius patients had been built there ten to twelve years ago. This hospital is one of those which lost their medical staffs with the coming of Independence. From September, 1960, to February, 1961, medical relief in Gemena had been providel by a Pakistani Red Cross team consisting of two doctors and three technicians, who under very unfavourable conditions had done a tremendous amount of work during that period. Things had finally become intolerable for the Pakistanis after months, and they had geen replaced by the Canadian team which I subsequently joined. At the time I was in Gemena there were only about six doctors for the entire population of about 1,000,000 people in the Ubangi District.

From a distance the Gemena Hospital was an attractive-looking place, with its sprawling architecture and its red tin roof. However, close-up things did not look so good. The place had been largely built of cement and stucco, and was difficult to keep clean. There were large covered balconies but these cut off the light from the wards, which were in consequence very dark. The new Congolese administrator had been politically appointed from the nursing ranks, and did not enjoy the respect and co--operation of his staff. The staff morale was poor: the nurses, who were almost all male, came to work late and did not come to work at all if it rained; they disappeared when things seemed slack and frequently got drunk when on night duty. Equipment was not too bad, but maintenance service was lacking. There were beds in the hospital, but no mattresses on the beds; the patients had to sleep on the bare bed springs or on straw or bamboo mats which they had brought with them. Mattresses had apparently been supplied on several occasions, only to be carried off like spoils by the patients on their return home to the jungle. When the Congolese came into hospital their families usually accompanied them, and it was often a question who would sleep on the bed and who under the bed, the patient or his family. No food was served in the hospital; either the patients had to search out food for themselves or their families had to cater for them. Usually the cooking was done in the woods close by but, whenever the opportunity presented, the families moved onto the balconies and cooked there. Their diet consisted mainly of bananas and manioc (or tapioca), and was greatly lacking in protein. For this reason the disease kwashiorkor, due to protein deficiency, was prevalent. When the Red Cross sent in relief supplies, consisting of dried fish, milk powder, biscuit, sugar and rice, this food came as a godsend. The patients clamoured for it, and usually the families ate more than the patients.

The Red Cross relief food had to be sent in by United Nations aircraft. This proved to be a problem, for the Armée Nationale was on shooting terms with the United Nations in Gemena, despite the fact that both were working toward the same goals. For this reason special dispensation from the Armée had to be obtained and observed for the relief planes. The food came in lots of several tons, and usually was unloaded by prisoners form the local jail, of whom there were many. (The prisoners were mostly political or by choice, though Gemena was not without conventional crime.) The sacks and bales of food had to be divided up for distribution at the various hospitals and missions in the area, and it was very cheering to see the Belgian nuns and the Protestant missionaries working together on this project.

The actual work in the hospital was quite frustrating and rather depressing. Despite great backlogs of patients the staff would work only from eight to twelve in the morning and from two to four in the afternoon, and it was difficult to find any nurses outside of these periods for emergency cases. (The Congolese had not—and, I am sure, have not yet—learned that freedom and independence demand more work and more responsibility, not less.) You can appreciate the difficulty of operating in the middle of the night without ancillary staff and adequate laundry. Yet because of the free medical service that they had had for so many years under the Belgians, the patients themselves were quite demanding. They were all anxious to have their troubles fixed at once. Every patient carried a medical document, and he continually waved this in front of the doctor, asking that something be done for his relief. Most of the patients in our hospital lived almost like sub-human creatures, but this was in part because they lacked the education, the financial means, and the physical facilities to live otherwise. Certainly I think that we saw the Congolese at their worst in hospital. Their troubles included the ordinary medical and surgical conditions which we see here in Canada and of these they were particularly prone to hernias and obstetrical complications. Some 75 operations per month were carried out at Gemena, but these just scratched the need. In addition, many of the Congolese were afflicted with one or often several tropical and non-tropical infections, a few of which I enumerated before. A number of these diseases have become more prevalent since the slackening of public health measures which followed Independence.

As you can see, the medical relief problem in the Congo is not one of easy solution. The Belgians were apparently prepared to supply white doctors to the Congo on an indefinite and continuing basis, and undoubtedly financed this from the economic gains that they made from the country. The same situation prevailed also in other fields, such as engineering, architecture, finance, law, and so on. If the nations presently assisting the Congo, including Canada, carry on in the Belgian way, they too will have to do so on an indefinite and continuing basis, perhaps for generations to come, and they must be prepared to finance the effort out of their own economies. Obviously this cannot be the answer—nor is it the answer that the Congolese want and need. There is only one answer to the problem—education—EDUCATION spelled out with capital letters—that the Congolese may produce their own engineers, their own lawyers, their own doctors and dentists, their own public health officers, indeed their own professional people of all kinds. It is only in this way that they can become self-sufficient and able to take their proper place in the world. Judging from the propress of aboriginal peoples in other lands, including our own, the time of training will not be short, but already beginnings are being made in the educational field. When well-fed and healthy, Congolese youth are proving to be just as energetic, intelligent and alert as our own, and they are just as anvious to get ahead.

Until a very few years ago the Belgians left education of the native population almost entirely in the hands of the missionaries. The efforts of the latter are now starting to pay off, in that native teachers are now available for many of the primary schools. In consequence, the missionaries are finding themselves free to develop secondary and higher education and, in a co-operative effort with the Congolese Government, certain great philanthropic foundations, and other extra-national agencies, are beginning to set up secondary schools. Plans are in the wind for polytechnical, agricultural and even medical schools. The United Nations, too, are playing a great part in many phases and at many levels of education. For example, U.N. courses have been given in public administration, social affairs, veterinary science, agriculture, nutrition, farm mechanics, agronomy, customs training, teaching, air traffic control, weather forecasting, postal service, police training sanitary engineering, nursing, and public health. Students in various fields of endeavour have been selected for fellowships in other countries, and although I do not have the latest figures, I do know that to June, 1961, the World Health Organization had sent 68 Congolese to France and Switzerland for training as doctors. Louvanium University near Leopoldville, which was built prior to Independence as an adjunct to Louvain University in Belgium, is now taking in an ever increasing number of Congolese students. (Lovanium had the first and possibly still the only atomic reactor in Africa, but this is only fitting, for the uranium for the first atom bomb came from the Congo.)

We in Canada have a greater part to play in providing the Congolese with the means to education. To be sure, there is a student from Leopoldville at Laval University this year, and two other Congolese at the University of Montreal, but these are not enough. McGill University's geographical analysis has not yet been carried out for this year, but the University of Toronto definitely has none. More opportunities for higher learning must be provided both here and in the Congo. I cannot foresee any Congolese exposed to the comforts of a Canadian, European or American university who would wish to go back to work in the jungle, but such people could go back as teachers in the secondary schools and universities which are developing in their homeland. It is there in the Congo that the great mass of capable students should and must go, and it is there that teachers from our world can be most useful for many years to come.

May I say a few words about the present role of the United Nations in the Congo? It is important to realize that the United Nations is like a ship, partly beneath the surface and partly up in the public view. Down in the depths of cooperative effort the hidden portion of the U.N. ship is painstakingly and effectively working for the betterment of mankind as an individual and mankind as a whole, and its services are widely sought after and widely appreciated by peoples of all colours, races, creeds and political leanings. It works through such bodies as the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and so on. So varied are the many activities of the United Nations that they can be listed under some 122 headings.

The portion of the U.N. ship which everyone can see deals with the inter-relationships of mankind, with politics, with disagreements between nations, and with war. Up amongst the waves of controversy it must steer a path between socialist and capitalist, between communist and democrat, between native and imperialist, between Christian and non-Christian, between black and white. Little wonder that from some countries there are cries of: "Let us get out of the United Nations." "Let us give them no financial support." "Let us pull our troops out of the Congo." Man being what he is, this is inevitable, and will continue. But let not disagreement with the political and military activities of the United Nations be a reason for our destroying it, disregarding it or failing to support it. The purposes of the political and military efforts of the U.N. is also the betterment of mankind, but the exact direction which they take will be largely determined by the countries (probably the Middle Power Countries) which provide the strongest and most enlightened leadership to the United Nations organization. In the Congo the political and military situations are extremely confusing. On the military side there are three armed bodies, the Armée Nationale, the Katangan Army, and the United Nations forces, each an extremely polyglot lot. On the political side what can one expect of an emergent African people, inevitably conditioned by a torrid environment, a state of widespread ill-health and malnutrition, and a retarded social and political evolution.

As you must appreciate by now, the U.N. is doing a tremendous job in the Congo in ways that do not get into the newspapers. Just as the Red Cross has been the answer to the emergency medical and relief situation in that unfortunate country, the United Nations must be the answer to its problems of the coming years. For not only does the future of the Congolese people depend on the United Nations, but so also does the future-in-Africa of our kind of people. If the U.N. is forced to get out, from lack of men, lack of money, or lack of support fromthe people at home, it will leave a vacuum into which the Communists will surely move. The United Nations has had many tasks: to prevent clashes between Belgians and Congolese, to get rid of the Belgians where they are no longer wanted, to discourage inter-tribal strife, to assist the political development of the country, to provide security for the actual sessions of the Congolese parliament, to organize and promote educational advancement, to alleviate famine and help refugees, to provide communication, to organize long-range public health and medical programs, and to attempt to end Katanga's secession. Two facets of this work might be mentioned. Firstly, the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals under the United Nations is providing the only dependable communications service throughout the country, and units of this Corps are stationed at many points. Secondly, the Red Cross emergency medical teams, which were sent to the Congo until the United Nations got organized, have now been replaced by physicians and surgeons recruited by the World Health Organization of the United Nations. In Gemena Dr. Sarkis' place was taken by a competent young WHO physician from Spain, and mine was taken by a WHO surgeon from Haiti. I have learned through the missionary grapevine that the latter, not trusting the Congolese nurses, sets his alarm clock for the middle of the night, so that he may get up and personally give the medications necessary at that time.

The work of the Red Cross is never ended. One never knows when natural disaster will strike, and when things are quiet it is often only the lull before the storm. But eventually the natural catastrophe occurs and finally is over and one sits back to wait for the next one. Africa is different. It has ceased to be an emergency situation in the ordinary sense, but sickness and famine go on and on and on. There may be no end to the relief required. Where the facilities for help are limited, much thought has to be given to the question: How best can the available means be evpended so that in the long run illness and death can be prevented to the maximum extent. On direct medical care as the Belgians gave it? On food donations? On the principle that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure? Or on EDUCATION, that the African may learn to feed and care for himself? Just as it did in North Africa, in Chile, and in many other places, the Red Cross has done a big job in the Congo, both for the Congolese themselves and recently also for more than 100,000 refugees from neighbouring Angola. I am sure that it will be equal to any task that lies ahead.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by H. V. Cranfield.

"THE CHRISTIAN MINORITY IN THE WORLD OF TOMORROW"

An Address by

REV. ERNEST M. HOWSE
Minister, Bloor Street United Church

Thursday, January 25, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: In the midst of world tensions, where the efforts of emerging peoples to identify themselves with a new national status is commonplace, there seems to be emerging a counter-movement among religious groups, which traditionally have been separate and idstinct, to *come together* in the cause of religious unity in order that the religious ideals may find fuller expression and, in a unified form, exert more influence for the survival of men's ideals in troubled times.

The evidence of the attempts of the religious groups to make their influence felt in world affairs comes from the three meetings of the World Council of Churches held first in Amsterdam in 1948, six years later in the United States in Evanston and in 19961 at New Delhi. Our Speaker today, The Reverend Ernest M. Howse, has attended all three of these World Councils either as a representative of the United Church or as a Special Correspondent for the Canadian newspapers.

Dr. Howse has held pastorates in Beverly Hills, California, in Winnipeg and in Bloor Street United Church, Toronto. He is an author of some five books and many articles in magazines, periodicals and newspapers. His work for the Christian Church has brought him in touch with the leaders of the Muslim world and, in 1955, he was elected in Cairo, Egypt, Christian Co-President of Continuing Committee on Muslim-Christian Co-operation.

In the United Nations Assembly there are 102 nations, the minority of whom are white. So now with the enlarging of the World Council of Churches to include many religious groups, Christians are aware of the minority role which they play in the world. Hence of interest to all of us today is the topic which The Reverend Mr. Howse has chosen to speak upon—a topic which gives us pause for thought, "The Christian Minority in The World of Tomorrow".

REV. HOWSE: An erudite Professor in Oxford was nonplussed last summer when a bright young thing from across the ocean asked him if he could give her, in a few sentences, the general hang of English History. I cannot give you in a few sentences, even the "general hang" of that world movement of which the Assembly of the World Council of Churches in New Delhi was the visible expression. I cannot begin even to state the significant issues which, in the course of seventeen days deliberation, were raised and wrestled with by first-class minds of many countries, by scholars, and men of responsible position, black and white, brown and yellow. I cannot make this a neat and rounded statement where everything is properly included, and nothing external intrudes.

Rather I shall select a few representative experiences and impressions chosen not as the material for a Report to a Church Court, but as the recollection of an innocent (relatively innocent) Canadian abroad in a large and rather frightening world, of which the significance to us is not limited to an Assembly of Churches nor to Christianity itself.

First of all the Assembly was at Delhi—the historic capital and ancient centre of power of a substantial portion of the human race. And there can be few ways more calculated to shock the Westerner into an awareness of the dimensions of the human problems which are going to bind us all together in a bundle of life—or of death—than to drop him down in India. The first impact upon the newcomer is apt to be discouraging, for he is apt to be overwhelmned by the magnitude of poverty, misery and degradation, and not be aware of the magnitude of the effort which India today is making to meet her problems.

Just to drive in the twenty miles or so from Santa Cruz to Bombay is to confront a festering mass of degrading humanity, for which despite his reading the imagination of the Westerner has not really prepared him. And Calcutta, I am told, is more terrible still. Estimates of the number of human beings who live in the streets, or the by-ways with no more homes than the cattle or goats that roam the streets, range from 500,000 to a million. But despite the swarming multitudes of the great cities, India is still a land of villages. Over 350,000,000 people live in India's 3,000,000 villages. And multitudes of the villages are almost as primitive now as they were centuries ago.

I took a day off and went out to a jungle village. The huts, built in a huddle one against the other, were of mud, with grass roof, which in the monsoon would be dripping through on the mud floor. They had no doors or windows; and there was not a man in the village who could make a wooden house, or a wooden door, or a frame to set it in. A Doctor in Ratlam estimated to me that the villagers would be 100% infected with guinea worm. The Indian Government has vast and imaginative schemes to teach primitive communities how to be more self-sufficient. But the task is stupendous, and all the schemes together cannot catch up with the need. Perhaps literally within sight of fast automobiles that rush along asphalt highways, and jet aeroplanes that swoop through the skies overhead, millions of primitive villagers still live as modern India's "contemporary ancestors."

This aspect of Indian life a newcomer cannot escape. The most casual tourist, of course, will also see other aspects. He will see magnificent architecture of which the imposing beauty tells of great peaks in civilization. He may see the Taj Mahal, certainly one of the most marvellously beautiful of all the creations of man. He may see the city of New Delhi, created by the British and greatly expanded by the Indians since Independence. The whole city is a panorama of spacious distances and splendid views of stately buildings. The former Viceroy's house (now the President's), called the Rashtrapti Bhavan, "the house of the father of the nation," has 347 rooms, and gardens reminiscent of Versailles. The city is clean and busy and prosperous. You can drink the water from the taps. And there are no animals roaming in the streets. Even the sacred cow is not permitted in New Delhi. Far away on the outskirts are vast areas of jungle reclamation where immense new factories of light industry are being built.

A few tourists may even go to Chandigahar the new capital of the Punjab, that incredible city which, in the last five years, like the more noted Brazilia, the capital of Brazil, has been built from scratch in a wilderness. The public buildings there are of a size and impressiveness which have few, if any, equals in the world. The huge straight boulevards, lined with bougainvillaea, the masses of beautiful and airy apartment buildings, the splendid private houses, and the stupendous complex of buildings in the new University—all an island in a jungle, created in half a dozen years, now comprising a city of 200,000 with not a single ugly lane or unbeautiful house—constitute one of the most remarkable achievements of modern man.

All this is but an indication of the ferment of life in modern India. One could pile up instances, but let me state just one fact. Since the granting of Confederation the Government of India has opened an average of ten new Post Offices a day, every day for 14 years.

Yet behind this there is one dark factor that threatens every effort: the increase of population. With Dr. Forrest, of the *United Church Observer*, I spent a morning with the Director of Information for the Indian Government. We learned that in the census of 1961, India though it had feared the rapid growth of population, learned that the total increase in the ten year period was ten million more than the highest estimate. That is, the population increased not to 428,000,000, as had been predicted, but to 438,000,000.

In those ten years India had made massive efforts to increase agricultural production. Taking the year 1950 as an Index 100, agricultural production by 1960 had risen to 124. The production per capita had risen only to 104.

But even this is now diminished by a population greater than had been calculated. Ten years of large scale agricultural effort had brought substantial increases in the amount of food; but there were so many more mouths to feed that the increase in production was cancelled out by the increase in population. The problem which Canada has of more employed by more unemployed, India meets on a vastly greater scale with more fed but more hungry. In 1953 India had to import 2,000,000 tons of food-stuffs. In 1959, despite the increase in agricultural production, India had to import 4,000,000 tons of food-stuffs. In one more decade she will need to import a third as much as she is producing now. There is no way in which this can be done. There is no chance of bridging the gap between food and large scale famine, except by slowing down the rate of population increase. For at present the net increase in population which India has to face amounts in round figures to 25,000 every day.

This, of course, is only part of the problem that confronts the whole world. It is a fact as simple and as inexorable as that 2 and 2 make 4 that the present rate of population increase in the world cannot be indefinitely continued. Dr. Harrison Brown of Cal Tech has shown by simple mathematics that, at the present rate of population increase, the total number of human beings in one thousand years would constitute a standing mass of humanity covering every square foot of land above sea level. India, facing her own problem, has begun promoting a massive programme of family planning. Frowning on abortion, it approves sterilization after four children have been born to a family. But it is putting more hope in research for a cheap oral contraceptive.

One other item I should like to mention concerns the involvement in India, our host country, of our Christian Missionaries. India significantly is the one country in Asia which has an indigenous Christian Church, going back to the time of the Apostles. The Bar Thoma Church in South India claims that it was established by the Apostle Thomas, and has been in existence ever since. Mission Churches have been known in India since the arrival of Roman Catholic Missionaries in the great days of Portuguese expansion. In the last couple of centuries both Roman Catholic and Protestan Missionaries have done an amazing amount of useful work in many fields. The impact of Christians upon India has been many times in excess of their numbers. For example while Christians form only about 3% of the total population in India, Dr. McClure estimated a few years ago that 85% of all the women nurses in India had been trained in Christian institutions.

I wish, however, to make mention, especially of a Toronto Doctor Robert McClure, a Missionary of the United Church in Ratlam, India. When Dr. McClure was on furlough, a couple of Toronto friends gave him money to purchase radium for cancer patients in his hospital, the only centre of such treatment for something like 30,000,000 people. The Banting Institute in Toronto also gave Dr. McClure some 30,000 doses of anti-polio vaccine. And while I was with Dr. McClure, he was just starting an immensely successful out-door clinic for polio vaccination. Dr. McClure had also taken back with him a volunteer dentist from Hamilton, who was the first western trained dentist in that area. Other Canadians whom I should like to mention are Dr. and Mrs. John McKim of the Medical College at Ludhiana. Dr. and Mrs. McKim, both Medical Doctors, left their practices in the city of London and offered five years of service in India. How much such a gift really means is difficult to calculate.

Only one other matter I must hastily mention. New Delhi is at present the centre of a huge industrial fair, almost on the scale of a World Fair. Eighty-six acres on the outskirts of New Delhi are given over to a great group of spectacular buildings in which the industrial countries of the world, great and small, have been busily parading their wares, and selling them to an enormous market not only in India but throughout that whole section of the world. Almost every country one can think of without any pretentions to industrial capacity is there with impressive exhibits: Poland and Finland, Belgium and Germany and dozens of other countries. And, of course, Soviet Russia is there with an exhibit of a tremendous size and an unlimited amount of free literature. I was happy to observe, however, that taken all together the exhibit of the United States seemed to me clearly to outclass the Russian. But one thing was distressing and shocking. Canada had no place in that Fair! In all that assembly of manufacturing ability and aggressive salesmanship, there is nothing to suggest that Canada exists. How on earth can Canadian manufacturers compete with manufacturers of other countries if they do not bother to display their wares or try to sell them?

My time is running by, and I must come at once to the Assembly of the World Council. India not only provided the setting for the Assembly, but to some extent accentuated the significance. For the first time in 2,000 years an Eucumenical Christian Assembly was held in Asia. And an assembly of Christians against the back-drop of Asia is more sharply silhouetted than one at Amsterdam or Evenston or Rome. In India, Christians are a minority. But India is a reminder that in the whole world Christians are a minority, indeed of late years a steadily diminishing minority. Christian missionaries, Roman Catholics and Protestant (Orthodox and Coptic Churches have no missionaries) have made Christianity the first religion which may be called a World Religion. And—though we must be careful of statistics which are usually inflated—Christians are, in point of numbers, the largest company among the great religions of the world.

But altogether they are still a minority. India is not a Christian land. There is no indication that there is going to be a Christian land. There is no indication that the world, in which we or our children live, is going to be a Christian world. After generations of missionary work, Christians are 3% of India. Before the Revolution they were only 1% of China, and they are still only ½ of 1% of Japan. The fact is that Christians live in a world that must be one world, and that will not be a Christian world. So Christians must learn to live with others. And a Christian Council in India made this effectively clear. The New Delhi Assembly, it is true, brought to the East a reminder that Christianity, which did not begin in the West, was no longer just a religion of the West, with a few Overseas transplants, which until the 19th Century Christianity largely was. Probably never in a history of mankind was there gathered in one place a group of human beings with such a variety of customs and robes, colour and nationality. The United Nations in its great Assemblies would undoubtedly have a larger total of countries represented, but it would have nothing approaching the dazzling variety of raiment, the vivid testimony of such diverse traditions.

The Assembly procession, representing the Mar Thoma Church, the one ancient root of Christianity in Asia, the ancient Coptic Church of Egypt and Ethiopia—which claims to be the original stem from which all the rest of us haev come—the Orthodox Churches and all branches of Protestantism were in colour, nation, race and tradition the most diverse group of Christians ever assembled in one place, anywhere any time, under any auspices. Since Christ walked in Galilee there never has been a gathering in His name of people so widely representative of mankind. Any Hindu who looked at that procession would be under no illusion that Christianity was the religion of the white man. As a matter of fact, although the Russians received the most publicity, eleven of the twenty-three Churches received into the Assembly at New Delhi were from the continent of Africa and two others from the South Pacific.

This new pattern has important consequences. The Ecumenical Movement began in the mission fields. The lineage of the World Council Assemblies goes back to the pivotal meeting in Edinburgh in 1910, when Missionary leaders, such as the Canadian-born Bishop Brent of the Philippines, the Indian-born clergyman Samuel Azariah, later to be the first Indian Anglican Bishop, and one of the founders of the Church of South India, proclaimed, in a way which Christian Churches had not before heard, that the isolation in which the individual Christian Churches hug themselves, each representing their own slogans which made each the one true Church, was a sin and a scandal in non-Christian lands. But although the Movement began in mission fields, the leading figures in the Movement have been largely Western. In Amsterdam the prominent leaders, the speeches and the programmes were from the West. In Evanston there was a change. The members of the Coptic Church, for example, were more vocal. At New

Delhi, the Assembly in a way the others never approached was simply as a World Church.

Indeed the admission of the Orthodox Churches radically and permanently altered the structure and character of the World Council. To begin with, it made the pattern complete. Now, with negligible exceptions, all Christians of the world are represented, as Roman Catholics by the Vatican, or as Ecumenical Christians by the World Council. The complete picture is quite different from the partial. Before the admission of the Orthdox Churches, the largest single Church in the World Council was the American Methodist with 10,000,000 members. The Russian Orthodox Church brought in by its own estimate 50,000,000 members from a population of 250,000,000. One other Orthodox Church, the Roumanian, brought in a total of 13,000,000. On the Central Committee of 100, which in future will direct the policies of the World Council, the Eastern Orthodox Churches now have seventeen members compared with a total of twenty-one members form all the Churches of North America. In addition, Africans will have nine members and Asia thirteen. The World Council of Churches, like Christianity itself, is no longer a white Western community.

What difference this will make to the pattern, structure and aims of the World Council, nobody now knows. What difference it will make to the Russian Orthodox Church, to have direct and continuous contact with a World Organization and to share in its work, nobody knows. One thing is clear: despite nearly a half century of Communist Government in Russia, much of it marked by active persecution of the Christian Church, you can't write off the Orthodox Church in Russia, just as you can't write off the Catholic Church in Poland.

One Sunday afternoon at New Delhi I went to the Russian Embassy where the Russian Delegation had arranged to have a showing of motion pictures covering the special services in the Cathedrals at Moscow when Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council, went to Russia to invite the Orthodox Church to the World Council. The showing included a long series of movies of other special Services in the cathedrals of Moscow, Kiev and other Russian cities—mainly the special Services at Christmas and Easter through the recent years. As we were watching the pictures, one of the Russian delegates said quietly in English, "Look at the faces." It seemed to me, as I heard, that I knew exactly what he meant. I looked at the faces, and from then to the end I looked at the faces in these vast throngs of worshippers. They were not by any means all old faces. Significantly, Nikodim, the leader of the Russian delegation, is himself only thirty-two years of age. Russian Christians of this generation have been born and brought up in an atmosphere hostile to Christianity, yet they are still militantly Christian. It is true that they live under pressures and under limitations that the Christian Church does not know in free countries. It is true that their conception of the task of the Church in social affairs is quite different from our conception. But the Church in Russia is still to be reckoned with in its own country. Supplemented by other Orthodox Churches, outside Russia, it is still to be reckoned with when it becomes part of a World Organization such as the World Council.

To receive the Russian Orthodox Church created risks and problems. But at least there is now one segment of Russian society that has an opening through the Iron Curtain. The reception of the Russian Orthodox Church into the World Council was a calculated risk, gladly taken.

So far I have said little about the Assembly itself. This is for two reasons. First, because while you men here have religious affiliations, you are here not as a Church audience. And second, in any case what can be said must necessarily be a matter of selection. I could, for example, easily spend the entire time on the mechanics of the Assembly. To conduct such a Council with the complexities of committee work required, and the variety of languages involved, demands a setting almost as elaborate as that of the United Nations. Not only the Assembly itself but the Press Conferences and the Committees required elaborate systems of translation and reproductions, so that as a man began speaking in Russian the English listener could grab an ear-phone, turn to a certain number and hear in his own tongue. Fortunately the Vigyan Bhavan, the new building erected by the Indian Government for UNESCO meetings, was almost ideally equipped for Council Assemblies. So far as I know, it is unsurpassed in the world, and incidentally it is air-conditioned.

I could spend time also describing the colourful details, and making notes on the distinguished personalities, and commenting on the speeches which made the press despatches. In general I would judge that, though some of these issues debated were important, few if any of the speeches were significant. In effect upon the audience there was no speech to match that of Charles Malik at Evanston, or of Bishop Stephen Neill or Reinhold Niebuhr at Amsterdam. I think also that the Assembly reports on the sections Unity, Witness and Service choked in their own wordiness.

I have read criticisms from Roman Catholic sources that the last Papal encyclical, while it said a lot of good things, it said nothing distinctive or outstanding that would make it memorable. I feel the same, only much more so, with the Assembly pronouncements. There was too much a tendency to use several pages of typescript to approve the Ten Commandments—in principle. I recall the story of the Back Bencher in one of the Committee rooms who, after a frustrating morning, rose to say, "Mr. Chairman, those of us who have kept silent are not the only ones who have said nothing." And the Message, which in some ways corresponds to an Encyclical, was, I think, almost un-Christian in its Christian exclusiveness.

When I think of Lord Halifax, the austere Anglican High Churchman going with Gandhi, the Hindu, to spend an hour in prayer with him before they discussed important international issues; and when I think of such a man as Martin Buber in Israel, I feel sure that no Christian individually would go into the presence of such men and say, "I am a Christian, I have access to God. You are not a Christian, you have no real access to God." Yet, while individually Christians would be appalled at so speaking, collectively they say just that.

I think that there should be some way that Christians, whether Roman Catholic or Ecumenical, can express their own faith in God, and accord their own experience that they have found Jesus Christ to be the Light of the World without limiting converse with God to themselves alone. This exclusiveness comes out of an unenlightened literalism in Scripture interpretation of which all of us, Protestants, Orthodox, Roman Catholics and Jews have been guilty in times past, but which for the most part we have happily discarded; and which we could still further discard to become not less Christ-like but more Christ-like in so doing.

I could also profitably point out how limited a part of the World Council activities had to do with the Assembly meeting. The World Council of Churches has one resemblance to the United Nations. It is not only an Assembly where delegates make speeches, it is an organization reaching out into the world in a multitude of ways never seen by visiting the Assembly Hall. Assemblies come and go, but the United Nations carries on work of incalculable value through continuous agencies such as UNESCO, WHO, FAO and the others. The Assemblies are intermittent events. The continuing service goes on constantly all around the world. So it is with the World Council. In its service to refugees, for example, the Council has 500 staff members continually at work throughout the world in 45 different countries. It has agricultural and special project teams in "areas of acute need."

Wherever earthquake, flood disaster or sudden need arises, the World Council of Churches organization is one of the chief voluntary agencies on which the United Nations Commissioner can rely. Co-ordinating the work in Christian congregations during the last five years, it has given 50,000 tons of clothes and, altogether, including the surplus stocks of the United States, fed hungry people with a million tons of food. It has homes for medical rest and care, in which over the past five years more than 1,100 Christian workers have received extended treatment. It has provided upwards of 2,000 scholarships, mainly for post-graduate work. It has operated over 250 Ecumenical Work Camps in five continents.

So I could go on. I wish only to show that the World Council of Churches, like the U.N. has activities far beyond its publicized Assemblies. It is already an effective world wide agency for Christian compassion. And in such service it has achieved a measure of unity and harmony which it has not approached in Assembly debates. But I must conclude. I have been asked what is the good of the Ecumenical Movement. I am reminded of Ben Franklin when he was asked "what is the good of electricity?" He replied, "What is the good of a new-born baby?" You don't know, because you don't know what it will grow into.

So I don't know what will be the good of the Ecumenical Movement, but I suggest that it should have three areas of growth: First, in itself it must grow to a much closer unity. It must become more of a working fellowship of Christians with, indeed, vast differences which will remain, but with increasingly common purposes and concerted goals in the field of humanitarian service, the kind of humanitarian service that comes only from the springs of religious devotion. Second, we must develop some lasting link—if at first it is only a bridge of free communication—between the two great groups, those represented by the Roman Catholics hierarchy and those represented by the Ecumenical Movement. And happily of this we have many hopeful signs.

Today, January 25, is the last day of the Church Unity Octave conducted by Roman Catholic Churches throughout the world. During this Octave, Roman Catholics repeat a prayer which every other Christian with the necessary change in names might well repeat:

> For controversies marked by irony, superstition and exaggeration, for lack of understanding, for unfeeling judgment concerning our non-Catholic brethren, Forgive us O Lord.
>
> For the acts of violence and the injustices we have tolerated in the course of history against our Protestant brethren, Forgive us O Lord.
>
> For proud complacent attitudes shown in times past towards our Orthodox brethren, for our present indifference to them. Forgive us O Lord.

When Roman Catholics so pray, and when the Vatican can describe the Ecumenical Movement as "the fruit of the inspiration of Grace," we may well say that we are in a new atmosphere of hope. We have still far to go, but we are coming to recognize that people of different theological ideas can co-operate fruitfully in practical issues, giving to others the freedom they cherish for themselves. For altogether they are a minority, and if they don't tolerate each other they have small complaint if others don't tolerate them. Let us hope that the Ecumenical Council, called by His Holiness the present Pope, will make an important step in some avenues of communication and co-operation that the centuries have not known.

One further step I think Christians must make. They must learn to look with wider sympathy upon men of other religions in this non-Christian world. In the Press Room in New Delhi, while we were discussing Observers from the Roman Catholic Church, one Jewish correspondent asked, "Why no Observers from the Mother of all Churches?"

In a university near New Delhi, a man with an important position in the Indian Government, a Director of Rural Education in India, a Doctor of Science with a son and daughter both living permanently in the United States, said to me somewhat wistfully, "Now that all these Christian leaders from all over the world are here in our midst, isn't there some way we could talk with them? We shall never have them here again. We would like to be able to talk with them about the ressource of religion in the life of man today." Probably, regrettable though it is, a great many of the delegates to the World Council of Churches would have been scared to death of sitting down to talk with representatives of any non-Christian religion. They would be afraid of the critics of the World Council. They would be afraid that they would be accused of selling out their own religion. They went, of course, to the tomb of Gandhi to pay their respects. But Gandhi is now dead! He won't ask any embarrassing questions. They would have been much more cautious about going to talk with him if he were still alive.

Christians must come to recognize the hard fact that, in the world of today, they are in a minority and, in the world of tomorrow, they will still be a minority. And Christians must recognize that many of the leaders, and many of the rank and file of other religions, are just as concerned as we are about the survival of the spirit of man in the world which we are fashioning.

It is a curious lack of faith that suggests that, if Christians sit down seriously with people of other faiths to discuss the ultimate concerns of man's spiritual life, it is Christianity which will suffer. If we had more true humility we might confess that all our knowledge of God is a fragmentary grasping after immeasureable truth. And we might all benefit by sympathetic appreciation of each other's faith. It is not enough to pray that Christians may all be one. We should pray that Christians might seek new ways of being at one with all other men of like mind and heart, seeking in their own way truth and beauty, goodness and God.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. T. A. King.

"THE WORLD AROUND US"

An Address by

HIS EXCELLENCY LIVINGSTON T. MERCHANT
U.S. Ambassador to Canada

Thursday, February 1, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Re-appointment of His Excellency, Livingston T. Merchant, one of the top Career Diplomats in the Department of State, as United States Ambassador to Canada, underscores the importance of American-Canadian relations to President Kennedy's administration.

President Kennedy announced one year ago that Ambassador Merchant, who had served as Ambassador to Canada from 1956 to 1958, was his choice for the Ottawa post. Before returning to Canada as Ambassador, he served as Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, the third highest post in the State Department. He is one of the few men in the U.S. Foreign Service who holds the rank of Career Ambassador.

Our guest speaker today is a Princeton Graduate and an Investment Counsellor who was called into Government service the day Pearl Harbour was attacked. Since then he has taken part in many of the great policy discussions of the Cold War. To list the conferences at which he has represented his country, and to enumerate the responsible roles he has filled in his country's service, would take more time than is at our disposal today. A newspaper man has described our guest as "a blunt, likeable, efficient man who sometimes seems to be criticizing Canada and the U.S. with equal vigour."

During his first term here, Mr. Merchant travelled 80,000 miles by air, foot, rail and auto, to meet Canadians in all walks of life and, it is reported, he is planning to travel again as he used to do.

I am told that Ambassador Merchant has a deep conviction that U.S. relations with Canada are more important than U.S. relations with any other country. This is something with which Canadians are likely to agree. Canadians and Americans, living side by side together on the North American continent, share many of the same ideals and look upon many of the problems of the world through the same eyes. Hence it is appropriate that His Excellency has chosen to speak to us today on the subject, "The World Around Us." Gentlemen, His Excellency, Livingston T. Merchant.

MR. MERCHANT: I chose my title for today—"The World Around Us"—because it seems to me that occasionally it is not only useful but necessary to stand back and take a look at what is happening around us. This is true of nations and governments as well as individuals. It is natural that everyone is preoccupied most of the time with his own personal or, in the case of a government, its own domestic affairs. The children would not get off to school and dinners would not be cooked and the wheels of business and finance would not turn nor, in fact, would governments operate at all if unremitting attention were not paid to the complex, absorbing responsibilities of earning a living, raising a family, running a city, a province or a country.

We all know form reading the daily papers, from TV and the radio that there is an even more complex and certainly more dangerous outer world which affects our future and, indeed, can radically alter our daily occupation. Everyone who has stepped on a jet aircraft knows that the world around us has been sensationally compressed in terms of ratio of time to distance. When a wall goes up in Berlin or a Dag Hammarskjold dies in the heart of the Congo, or the Communist guerrillas step up the weight of their attacks in free Viet-Nam, or Castro builds Cuba into an armed Communist-controlled camp, results and consequences flow which can affect us all.

It is perhaps harder for North Americans than for Europeans, or even Asians for that matter, fully to appreciate the significance of the changes which have occurred in the lifetime of those in this room. Two broad oceans gave both Canadians and the people of the United States, for long decades, a sense of fundamental security and detachment from a world which from time to time seemed dangerously disordered. I think Canada's close ties with Britain—the bonds of Empire and then the Commonwealth—and Canada's participation from the very outset in two World Wars probably gave to you in this country an earlier and better perspective and less of an inclination to build a foreign policy on isolation. We in my country, however, have come a long way in the last twenty years as we learned in Donne's words that "No man is an island, entire of itself." And then, to underline the interdependence of all men, the poet goes on to say: ". . . therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

We accept interdependence today. We accept it not in substitution for independence but in the knowledge that only by an acknowledgment of interdependence can any country, which desires to remain free, insure, in fact, its own independence. I am certainly safe in saying that changes in the world around us have been great and have in turn enforced changes not only in our attitudes and outlook but in our national policies. Nevertheless, the rate of change in science, in war-making potential, in economic relationships and institutions, in the number of new nations, in the break-up of great empires and the rise of new ones—less benevolent than the old empires, if I may permit myself an understatement—compel us, as I said a moment ago, to step back and look at the world environment in which we live if we, as individuals and countries, are to understand the dangers and the opportunities that lie ahead.

Count for a moment some of the things that have happened in the past five years. It was in 1957 that the Soviets launched into orbit the first Sputnik. Today there are 36 man-made, instrument-laden capsules circling the earth, 33 of them launched by the United States. They are marvels of miniaturization of scientific instruments, most of which were not even dreamed of twenty years ago and all of them so progressively developed as to bear no genuine resemblance to prototypes of even five years ago. Men have already been placed in orbit and safely returned to the earth. The exploration of outer space by men in fligth is just around the corner.

These scientific achievements have already demonstrated an important peaceful utility in such fields as communications, meteorology and navigational aids. They have also provided ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads capable of being placed with great accuracy on targets thousands of miles distant from the launch pad, or, in the case of the Polaris submarine—incidentally, a product of almost fantastic imagination combined with scientific, engineering and organization effort—ballistic missiles can be launched from the depths of the sea. In medicine, giant forward strides have been equally impresive. In our countries, polio has been virtually eliminated by Salk, as tuberculosis and diphtheria in our own lifetime have been similarly removed from the list of the great killers.

There is a new industrial revolution underway with the development of automation and electronic computers. Just as a hundred years or so ago the first industrial revolution substituted steam and then electricity for the power of men's and animal's backs and legs, so today in an acceleration of that revolution, banks of machines and pieces of automatic machinery under electronic control are substituting in part for the human brain. It is literally true that man has in sight the conquest of the problem of scarcity in the production not merely of necessities but of luxuries as well.

Agriculture is the beneficiary of a comparable revolutionary process. In my country we are all familiar with the figures showing that 140 years ago one farmer fed himself and three others, whereas today one farmer feeds himself and 25 others. In the last ten years the productivity per farmer in the United States has doubled. Incidentally, a farmer in the Soviet Union today produces enough food for himself and five others. One wonders whether it is a source of satisfaction to Soviet leaders that Communist efficiency has permitted the Soviet farmer of 1960 finally to reach and even slightly exceed the standard we set in about 1820.

Communications in all forms have similarly been affected by the scientific revolution. Today we take TV for granted as thirty years ago we were just beginning to take radio for granted. We hurtle cargo and human beings on scheduled flights around the world at sonic speeds. Last summer I took a jet from Dorval Airport at Montreal and stepped off the plane in Orly Field at Paris less than six hours later. Last fall, I climbed on a Comet jet at Karachi which had originated its flight at Sydney and we arrived in London fifteen hours later, ten minutes behind schedule, to the intense chagrin of the aircraft commander and his crew.

Man is bringing his burgeoning scientific knowledge to almost any field one can name. The Arctic regions are being opened up. Canada's experience and study in these climates is adding notably to the store of man's knowledge and to the future utilization of spaces on this earth which since the beginning of time have been considered uninhabitable and economically unexploitable. Antarctica—the last unexplored, uninhabited continent on this planet—is being studied, criss-crossed by aircraft and teams of scientists under the impulse of the international effort launched several years ago for the International Geophysical Year.

The pressures that come from the expanding frontiers of man's scientific knowledge are clear enough. And I suppose this is not surprising when one realizes that 90% of all the trained scientists which the entire world has produced since Aristotle are today alive and in their creative prime, working in laboratories such as Newton never dreamed of, and with funds, counting governmental subsidies and industrial budgets, running into billions of dollars a year. These pressures, man-made, are encountering a resistant front, also man-made. That resistant front is man's institutions,—social, educational, economic and political.

The Community of Six in Europe and the pull it exerts on Britain to join is, it seems to me, a reflection of an adjustment in man-made institutions to man-made changes.

Another great political institution, the United Nations, reflects the strains and pressures of rapid change in its environment. Change is exerting its influence on traditional procedures and precedents by the multiplication of nation states. Five years ago there were seventy members of the United Nations. Today there are 104. Despite frustrations and disappointments that it will bring us from time to time, we must never cease our efforts to increase its effectiveness as an instrument for peace.

What I have already said and what I have implied constitute the challenge and the opportunity for all of us. This challenge and opportunity is equally matched by danger. We must understand this danger if we are to deal with it succesfully and realize the vista which science has opened up. In a world at peace, with sensibly accepted procedures for achieving political changes by peaceful measures, with a rule of law which recognizes the rights and dignity of individual men everywhere, with men's institutions accommodated to the twentieth century and looking toward the twenty-first, and with hard work and self-discipline, the world literally has it in its power to banish poverty and disease and to create societies in which the creative genius of man can find its full scope.

What prevents this dream becoming an immediate reality, a reality toward which all peoples and all governments on the earth can work co-operatively to create? The answer lies in the present policies of the Sino-Soviet bloc of two great powers and eleven satellites. The contribution which China has made over the centuries to the world's culture and Russia's great achievements in science and technology demonstrate what the genius of those two peoples could contribute to a world-wide effort to fashion the sort of world I have sketched. Tragically, under their present doctrine and leaders, they are quite outspokenly and frankly more interested in dominating the world, even at the risk of destroying it.

Mr. Khrushchev said not long ago, "We will bury you." It would be a deadly mistake not to believe that to be his intention. Mr. Robert Lovett, a great public servant in my country, who held high office under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, said not many months ago: "If the public statement 'We will bury you' does not carry the message to us, then words have lost their meaning. Attempts to explain this blunt warning of intention by calling it jovial or by saying it does not mean a military funeral, but just a little economic one, is a form of jocularity too close to the jugular to lighten my heart."

Mr. Khrushchev expressed this thought earthily. It caught the headlines and then was forgotten by most. This thought, however, has been insistently and elaborately and repeatedly expounded publicly. Mr. Khrushchev discussed lengthily the question of war in his report of January 6, 1961, on the Moscow Conference of World Communist Leaders. He spoke of the need of preventing large-scale or all-out war and also local wars. But what he says about "national liberation wars" is enlightening. Mr. Khrushchev cites Viet-Nam, Algeria and Cuba as examples of "national liberation wars," but he does not mention Hungary. He has this to say:

> What is the attitude of the Marxists toward such uprisings? A most positive one. These uprisings must not be identified with wars among states, with local wars, since in these uprisings the people are fighting for implementation of their right for self-determination, for independent social and national development. These are uprisings against rotten reactionary regimes, against the colonizers. The Communists fully support such just wars, and march in the front rank with the peoples waging liberation struggles.

For those who have taken comfort from Communist propaganda calling for "peaceful coexistence," we should examine carefully what this term means to the leadership of the Soviet Union. Again I quote Mr. Khrushchev from his same definitive speech:

> The policy of peaceful coexistence promotes the growth of the forces of progress, of the forces fighting for socialism; in the capitalist countries it facilitates

> the work of the Communist parties and the other progressive organizations of the working class, makes it easier for the peoples to combat the aggressive war blocs and foreign military bases, and contributes to the success of the national-liberation movement.
>
> The policy of peaceful coexistence is, then, as far as its social content is concerned, a form of intense economic and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the aggressive forces of imperialism in the world arena.

I am sure each of you knows that the Communists use upside down language. For example, in the quotation of Mr. Khrushchev which I have just read, when he says "socialism" he means "Communism."

"Capitalist countries" include Norway and Sweden, for example, since the term is all-inclusive for non-Communist countries, however remote their systems are to "capitalism" in the Marxian sense; "progressive organizations of the working class" mean Communist-controlled labor unions; "aggressive war blocs" means NATO; and "foreign military bases" mean NATO bases for our collective defense in NATO countries.

We should not forget that by Mr. Khrushchev's definition everyone in this room is a member of "the aggressive forces of imperialism." The fact that we have not the slightest aggressive intent, that we are quite obviously banded together in NATO for purely defensive purposes, that neither Canada nor the United States has any colony or any territorial ambition, does not affect in the slightest our being placed by the Communists, for reasons of doctrine, in the category of "the aggressive forces of imperialism." Lest anyone say Mr. Khrushchev is given to overstatement or that Mr. Khrushchev is an impetuous character who gets carried away when speaking to an enthusiastic audience, or that the doctrine he enunciates is something new or temporary, designed for tactical purposes to put us in a properly compliant mood to accept his terms for a treaty on the suspension of nuclear tests, for example, let me go back 40 years to the early days of the Soviet Union when Lenin was its leader and spokesman.

It is important to remember that from the day in 1917 that the Bolsheviks seized effective power in Russia, later signing the Treaty of Brest Litovsk with Germany, and taking Russia out of the war, the hostility of the Soviet regime toward the governments of the West has been unremitting. As Mr. George F. Kennan, one of the great living authorities on Russia, has pointed out in his book *Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin*, the foreign relations of Moscow with the governments of the free world have made a mockery of the entire western theory of international relationships. Such relationships among the nations of Western Europe and this hemisphere recognize sovereign equality and the principle of live and let live. Mr. Kennan points out that this did not

> eliminate wars and struggle over limited objectives; but it did mean as a general rule, that once another state had been recognized as a sovereign entity, one did not attempt to extinguish it entirely, or to deny it the basic right to order its own internal affairs in accordance with its own traditions and ideas. It was this theory that the Bolsheviks challenged on their assumption of power in Russia. They challenged it by the universality of their own ideological pretensions—by the claim, that is—to an unlimited universal validity of their own ideas as to how society ought to be socially and politically organized. They challenged it by their insistence that the laws governing the operation of human society demanded the violent overthrow everywhere of governments which did not accept the ideological tenets of Russian Communism, and the replacement of these governments by ones that did. The Soviet leaders, let us remember, professed it their duty and that of all right-minded followers to exert themselves to the utmost to bring about these political changes.

This attitude and this concept of the relation of the Soviet Union to all non-Communist states flows ineluctably from the policies laid down by Lenin who remains the authority on Communism unchallenged by any living Soviet leader. In 1917 Lenin said,

> There is one and only one kind of internationalism in deed, working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) such and only such a struggle and such a line in every country without exception.

In 1920 he spoke frankly of the general form of government under which both Canada and the United States live. His words are:

> Communism rejects parliamentarianism as the form of the future society; it rejects it as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat; it rejects the possibility of the protracted process of winning over parliaments; it pursues the aim of destroying them.

This fundamental hostility quite naturally enabled L. B. Kamenev to say in March, 1921, the day before the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed, "We are convinced . . . that the foreign capitalists, who will be obliged to work on the terms we offer them, will dig their own grave. . . ."

The consistency of this basic and implacable attitude on the part of the U.S.S.R. toward free governments of free nations follows consistently in all relations through the Twenties, the Thirties, with something of a truce during World War II, but even more nakedly in the postwar period, down to the present day.

You Canadians will particularly recall the revelations of the Royal Commission in the Gouzenko case in 1947. We have seen similar evidence of the activities of Communist agents in my country, in Britain and in others of our NATO allies. Mr. Khrushchev was laconic, but beyond question honest of intention, when he said "We will bury you." This is the reality. We can only at our deadly peril pretend that it does not exist or that if we ignore it it will go away. It is useful to recall that in the mid-Thirties most of us failed to believe Hitler when he discussed with great frankness and in full detail in *Mein Kampf* the blueprint for his conquests. This then is the danger which matches the glorious possibilities of the future, unless we are prepared by inadvertence or by conscious choice to take our chances on participating in that future under the Kremlin's domination.

I am quite sure that this will not be Canada's choice, as I know that it will never be the choice of my own country. The greatest risk, it seems to me, is that of slipping toward surrender by inadvertence; of saying, for example, "Is it worthwhile being atomized for West Berlin and a little later for West Germany and then for all of Western Europe?" Or, "Let others carry the burden of our collective defense." Or, "Let someone else provide aid to fragile, expectant, new governments in less developed areas." Or indulging in the luxury of internecine quarrels. Or in falling into the fallacy of believing that the road to peace is to offer more concessions every time the Soviets reject an honest offer and stand rigidly on their original demands.

This trend of thought leads inevitably to the question—can war be avoided? I am convinced it can. I equally believe, however, that we will have to keep on doing with more energy and the devotion of more resources the difficult, inconvenient and expensive things we are doing now. And this is really why at the outset I suggested that it is necessary from time to time to step back and take a detached look at the world around us.

I believe that, just as the winds of change are blowing in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia, and in Western Europe, there are at least symptomatic breezes behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains in the Sino-Soviet empire. Signs can be read, for example, that all is not perfect harmony in the relations between the Russians and the Chinese. The bonds of mutual interest, however, are strong between them, and it would be a great mistake to assume that those bonds are in process of rapid dissolution.

But if we keep on doing faithfully and well what I am about to suggest, then I believe that 10, 20 or 30 years form now there will come changes in the internal and external attitudes of the Russian, the Chinese, and the satellite leaders and in the attitudes of their peoples which will make peaceful coexistence a genuine condition and not the hoax or the fraud which it is intended to be today.

What are these things that we must keep on doing? First, it seems to me, that to reduce the risk of war by miscalculation on the part of any potential aggressor, we must keep our collective defenses manned and modern. No doubt this will involve an increase in expenditures in order simultaneously to strengthen and modernize our conventional forces and to ensure that the deterrent, which is represented by our capability for nuclear retaliation, is properly protected against surprise attack. In the matter of defence, we should not overlook the fact that one of the key elements in any adversary's assessment of the effectivenes of our deterrent is the state of the resolution and will of the North Atlantic Alliance. A unit based on lip service to a common purpose is not enough. There must also be increasingly intimate and continuous consultation among all members of the Alliance in order to ensure that our assessments and policies are developed in common.

Secondly, we must pursue every reasonable opportunity for negotiation with the Soviets of the differences between us as we have been doing in Geneva on the Laotian question and as we may in the weeks ahead be doing on the Berlin question. The only important proviso is that such talks must be held in an atmosphere free from threat or duress. In particular we must continue to devote our energies and our patience to the effort to achieve safeguarded disarmament and the concurrent development of peacekeeping machinery. We must not permit ourselves to be discouaged by the long, frustrating and sad history of our efforts to negotiate a treaty for the suspension of nuclear tests.

Next, we must make sure that our social, our economic and our political institutions adapt themselves to the times of change in which we live and reflect the vitality and the aspirations of free people. If we are successful in this, we will attract to our example the undecided, convince the skeptics, and confound those who wish us and all our works ill. From enlightened self-interest, as well as the impulse of generosity, which is strong in both our peoples, we must expand economic aid and technical assistance to the less developed areas in the non-Communist world. Likewise we should move as rapidly as practicalities permit to the removal of trade barriers and the liberalization of commercial policy.

Finally, we should reflect with pride on what our two nations have achieved on this continent in the past 300 years. We are separate nations, each distinctive in its own way. We face today a common challenge and a common opportunity. From our past we can draw our courage for the present and the capacity to realize our opportunities for the future. It will take increased effort on the part of both of us.

President Kennedy recently said that all the elements in the foreign policy of the United States lead to a single goal—the goal of a peaceful world of free and independent states. I think Canadians likewise would agree that all the elements in Canadian foreign policy are similarly designed to lead to that same goal. The President went on to say,

> This is our guide for the present and our vision for the future—a free community of nations, independent but interdependent, uniting North and South, East and West, in one great family of man, outgrowing and transcending the hates and fears that rend our age.
>
> We will not reach that goal today, or tomorrow. We may not reach it in our own lifetime. But the quest is the greatest adventure of the century. We sometimes chafe at the burden of our obligations, the complexity of our decisions, the agony of our choices. But there is no comfort in evasion, no solution in abdication, no relief in irresponsibility.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Douglas W. Best.

"CAN THE SCIENTIST WIN THE PEACE?"

An Address by

DR. NORMAN Z. ALCOCK
President, Canadian Peace Research Institute

Thursday, February 8th, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Distinguished guests and gentlemen .The national budget of the United States for 1962–63 is estimated to be 92.5 billion dollars. Out of this sum, 52.5 billions will be spent for "defence". That is to say, more than one-half of the revenue collected by the federal government in the United States will be spent to maintain men and machines in a position to destroy large numbers of other men and other machines. Other governments in the developed and civilized parts of the world devote a large proportion of their resources to the same purposes—that is, to preparations for war.

Just what it is in man's nature which requires him to spend such a large part of his resources preparing for the possible destruction of other men is one of the world's great mysteries. Our speaker today, Dr. Norman Z. Alcock, is a Canadian engineer and physicist who, following a brilliant academic career and a similarly successful business career, has set aside his personal business interests in an effort to solve this enigma of man's seeming determination to destroy himself.

It is Dr. Alcock's hope that he may discover the political and social inventions needed for a warless world. After discussion with his wife and four children, Dr. Alcock left his business, devoted himself to study, and wrote a small book called *The Bridge of Reason* in which he puts forth his plan for peace. In brief, the plan calls for a concentrated world-wide programme of scientific research to be set up to seek means to avert the present drift towards war. All of us are aware of the problem which faces mankind; few of us seem able to do anything about it.

Our speaker has made it his personal full-time business to seek an answer. I am sure you will listen with interest as Dr. Alcock speaks to us now on the subject: "CAN THE SCIENTIST WIN THE PEACE?"

DR. ALCOCK: The fact that I can speak to this Empire Club audience about peace and war today is, in itself, an encouraging thing. There was a time not too long ago when responsible groups such as yours would not have been inclined to admit our peril by outright discussion. Today responsible, thoughtful men and women are facing the reality that the new weaponry has made war obsolete and that we must find alternative methods of settling international disputes.

In the time allocated this afternoon I would like to deal with three questions, and I hope provide convincing answers to them. The first question: "Is it generally recognized that war is now obsolete?" The second, "Can the scientists win the peace?" And the third: "Is there still time?"

Today the United States national budget amounts to approximately $92½ billion. Of this, $52½ billion has been allocated for defence. The figures are comparable for other major powers. These figures suggest that war's obsolescence—that there can be no defence against the new weaponry and that war can no longer be an instrument of national will—is not generally recognized.

The fact that war has become obsolete is a new condition. It is so new in human history that it is very difficult for people to accept such a concept. Surely there have been Cassandras—people who have been saying that war is obsolete—for years. Today, however, ample evidence supports the statement.

The documentation is this. In just about twenty years weapon technology advanced from the one-ton bomb at the outset of World War II to the 10-ton bomb—the block-buster then suddenly to the 20,000 ton weapon—the atomic bomb. Just 10 years ago it jumped from 20,000 ton weapons to 20 million ton weapons. The handwriting was on the wall that war was obsolete when the first atomic bomb was dropped. The H-bomb—the 20 megaton weapon—made war's obsolescence a reality.

All this has been slowly seeping into our consciousness. But it is very important that we let it seep into it much more than it has because a 20 megaton weapon can do the sort of damage that it is hard to imagine. Such a bomb can destroy—by fire—4,000 square miles.

And still the size of the weapons continues to grow fantastically. Less than a year ago when Dr. Keenleyside said "We have on the drawing board a bomb which can destroy the Province of Ontario," newspapers picked up the statement and said "Let's not have hysteria." Four months later the 100 megaton bomb was announced and some of us pointed out that here, indeed, was a weapon that could destroy at least the populous southern half of this province. A newspaper replied that this was "theoretically possible but not of practical concern". Well, four days after that statement it became of practical concern when Mr. Khrushchev had a 60 megaton bomb exploded.

Nor is the 100 megaton bomb the limit. Dr. Leo Szilard has described a cobalt bomb that could be constructed to provide the equivalent of 1000 megatons—that would literally devastate half of the continent.

The evolution of these weapons has been matched by developments in their means of delivery. Twenty years ago aircraft were 10 hours away. Today the intercontinental ballistic missile has reduced the warning time to half an hour; perhaps less. The next step is to launch a satellite with a nuclear warhead that will circle the earth constantly and which can be launched on a target country within seconds.

This fantastic growth in weapon technology has had one salutory effect. Because of the awesome proportions of the weapons, a very good case can be made for the contention that deliberate war is very much less likely to happen. In the last 15 years government and military leaders have undoubtedly hesitated many times to trigger developments which would lead to war. Deliberate war is extremely unlikely today. But the technological developments have opened a new dimension—that of accidental war.

C. P. Snow has warned that "within ten years one of these things is going to go off". In the last ten years years there have been in the United States alone some fifty accidents involving the carriers of nuclear weapons. The Russians are reported to have remotely exploded a runaway missile that was headed for Alaska. Safeguards did not prevent the moon from being mistaken for a Russian missile just a year or two ago. This might be something to make us smile about, of course, if civilization were not poised on the brink. Fortunately human judgment intervened in the case of the Thule moon signals and in the case of the Russian runaway rocket. But as the warning time—the time for voluntary action and reaction—is reduced from a half hour to minutes and from minutes to seconds the safeguards will no longer be able to guard against accidental war.

Many researchers today are sorely vexed with the matter of human crack-ups that can start the war we do not want. A submarine commander or a field commander in charge of widely dispersed weapons provide another dimension for accidental war. Many military people today feel that this is the greatest danger—greater than a mechanical failure, in fact. They feel that some over-wrought mind will want to press the button and will work through the safeguards that prevent him from pressing it.

The third real danger is war by escalation. Today the weapons range from those of less than a thousand tons of TNT on up through all stages to the multi-megaton bombs. They are all available and it is difficult to conceive of military commanders willfully suffering defeat at any point when a larger weapon that will forestall defeat lies in his arsenal. Here is where the system can escalate from a clash over some incident in Berlin to wholesale nuclear annihilation. At "Pugwash" Conference of scientists held in Vienna three years ago, the danger of nuclear war by escalation was considered so extreme they declared that all wars—even the smallest local war—must be avoided. As Mr. Howard Green has pointed out, as more nations acquire nuclear weapons the danger of brush fire wars growing into nuclear war increases.

This briefly then is the picture of our nuclear peril and of the hazards of accidental war. But what about defence against these weapons. Today we cling to the myth of defence because we have always had defence against military weapons. In the last war we had a defence against air attack after a fashion. It was predicated on knocking down five or ten per cent of attacking bombers in any raid. When the enemy losses became about twelve per cent, in fact, it was too expensive in terms of manpower and material for him to sustain the raids. Still 88 per cent of his bombers were getting through. If the best defensive efforts against piston-engine aircraft was only a few per cent, then, defence against missiles is nonsense. One reads of talk about anti-missile missiles, and we are spending millions of dollars every year working on such ideas. Yet the idea of producing an anti-missile missile that will be 100 per cent effective is utter nonsense. And clearly when we are dealing with 100 megaton bombs that can each destroy half a province, 100 per cent effectiveness is necessary. When we talk of anti-missile defence today we are grasping at an illusion. Any bomb getting through is sufficient to create devastation.

There is a second sad myth about defence. It is that radioactivity is suddenly stopped after two weeks when we emerge from our shelters. It must be realized that here we are concerned with something that will last years and extend over a vast area. In our lifetime, technology has changed the whole dimension of war so let us dispense with the idea that there is a defence against this very real nuclear devastation which can start accidentally and set mankind back perhaps 20,000 years.

Now let me return to my first question: "Is it generally recognized that war is obsolete?" I think not. Now and again we read what amounts to lip service to the fact of war's obsolescence but the actions of governments indicate that we have not yet recognized it. The United States, for example, is spending $7 billion—billion with a "B"—for development and research into new weapons and $2 million—million with an "M"—for the newly formed Disarmament Agency. And that $2 million is something of a triumph. In Canada where we are spending $2 billion annually on defence we are looking for $2 million for research into alternatives to war. That is a ratio of 1000 to 1.

Lester Pearson has said, "We prepare for war like precocious giants and for peace like retarded pygmies." Despite all this I believe there is hope and evidence for encouragement. I believe that scientific research can find alternatives. And this brings me to the third question I posed at the outset: "Is there still time?" Have we the time to make the adjustment in our thinking?

For 800,000 years of man's life on this earth we have been used to the idea of fighting to settle our disputes. How is it possible then that we can hope to change human attitudes in the next ten years or so that men like Leo Szilard and C. P. Snow say is the time we have left for decision. Perhaps the answer is that we cannot. On the other hand there are some encouraging signs, and we must seize upon these encouraging signs.

The first encouraging thing is that we don't have to change human nature. Indeed in every other area of human conflict, short of international disputes, we no longer use force. Men once fought each other to the death; they no longer duel. Families and clans once feuded until one or the other were destroyed. We have outlawed all that. Trojans are no longer pitted against Athenians. Victoria and Vancouver don't resort to war over differences.

We no longer tolerate fights between individuals, tribes or cities. Thus we are at the last rung of the ladder. The only anarchy that remains is between nations. In the process of achieving peaceful settlements between individuals and groups within a nation we have not changed basic human nature, we have simply restrained and regulated it. This remains to be done in the field of international conflicts. It must be done, for today weapon technology has made war as obsolete as a means of settling international disputes as dueling in the street is obsolete.

The second area for encouragement—that should hearten us to believe that we can resolve the prime problem of today—is that we have the tools for making changes. These tools are the methods of science and technology.

The same scientific and technological knowledge that has made war obsolete should help us out of our present difficulties. We have learned to use human intellect—to apply reason instead of raw emotion. And we have learned to marshal this power of science and technology very recently in human history—particularly in the past fifty years. When we think about scientific development it is significant to realize that of all the scientists the world has ever known, 90 per cent of them are alive today. That is how recently science has come into our lives.

About a week ago I was in Lethbridge where I visited the experimental station. Here were seventy scientists working on diseases of wheat and livestock. Scientific method and scientific personnel are today commonplace in agriculture. We employ them in designing industrial processes; in solving the problems of industry with catalytic crackers and new types of processing plants. We are using the social sciences every day in making management more efficient. We have come to accept research as the normal thing in medicine. In our own lifetime we have eradicated diseases like malaria and typhoid and poliomyelitis because we invested enough specialized skills in finding the answers. The physical sciences have wrought vast changes in the last two or three generations. We must look now to the social sciences, in particular, for solutions to the problem of war.

Let me use an illustration. If we knew that a plague was imminent in the next ten or fifteen years—if we knew that it was spreading all over the world and that it would in all likelihood largely eliminate mankind—that it would effect non-Communist and Communist and neutral countries all alike—would we just pretend that it wasn't there? Would we go on with life as usual, doing our daily tasks, and ignore this plague? Or would we mount the most enormous crash programme—throw time and effort and money into finding out what this plague was and how it could be prevented?

The threat of thermonuclear war to mankind is such an impending plague. And such a crash programme, in a limited way, is that we are trying to launch here in Canada with the Canadian Peace Research Institute.

In the time remaining now I would like to tell you something about the Institute concept and how it will work. Briefly, the Institute will be a place where men and women can work full time in research on the problems of war. We are starting in a very small way with only about twenty-five scientists. That indeed is a very small number. But the fact is that in Canada we have not anybody working full time on peace research today.

We want to start with twenty-five here and within a year or two we hope to grow to about fifty or sixty scientists. At the same time we want to promote the establishment of similar institutes in another twenty-five or thirty countries and our aim is to have between 1000 and 5000 scientists working around the world within the next five or six years, all trying to isolate the virus of war.

The scientists to be engaged will be primarily social scientists—those with special skills in looking into human relations. There are those who suggest that the social scientists cannot work as effectively on human problems as the physical scientists have done in physical areas. Perhaps they can't. But on the other hand they have been remarkably useful in studying such human problems as alcoholism and delinquency. The psychologists—and particularly the social psychologists have made considerable headway. The economists have made much headway in understanding the delicate relationship between the trading areas of the world. The forecasters and analysts, statisticians and actuaries working together with psychologists and sociologists and economists have brought a new dimension of effectiveness to the operation of industry and commerce.

Certainly in approaching the solution of international problems by scientific research we are not starting from scratch. We are beginning with definite known skills.

The peace research institutes are to be set up in the most objective way possible, for this is essential to the scientific approach. They will be independent of government just as our universities are independent of government. But they must have, of course, the support and confidence of government. I must state at this point that we have no assurance that the government will participate. It is our intention, however, that when we have gained the support of the public and of the business community we will approach the government to contribute towards support of the Institute on a matching basis.

But people fequently ask, "Isn't 'peace' a pretty controversial field? What are you doing about the possibility of Communist subversion?" I would answer that the likelihood of subversion is the same as it would be in any of our universities or in a big company. The safeguard against subversion is in the calibre of vigilance of the directors. The Directors of the Canadian Peace Research Institute include Dr. Franc R. Joubin, Dr. Francis Winspear of Edmonton, Mr. Walter Koerner of Vancouver, the Rt. Rev. James S. Thomson, Dr. Brock Chisholm, Dr. Hugh Keenleyside and Professor Kenneth Boulding. I say to you these are not the kind of men who are likely to be pushed around.

The other half of the answer, however, is that we shall have no secrets to sell. The Institute will deal only in unclassified information. This is essential because it is basic to solving international problems that the data be as broadly distributed as possible. The data and findings of the Institutes must be exchanged to the fullest possible extent.

What sort of projects will the Institute scientists and scholars undertake? Let us consider a few examples very briefly. One project is an exploration of problems to be encountered in establishing a neutral zone to prevent a brush-fire war. The Rapacki Plan suggested by Poland a few years ago was shot down at the conference table. So was a subsequent proposal from the West. Now if a plan could be worked out by scientists in half a dozen nations *before* it went to the United Nations perhaps they could get a measure of agreement that would give a greater probability of United Nations approval. The fact that the Institutes had developed such a plan for a neutral zone in fair detail would not be a guarantee. There is no panacea. But certainly it would provide a better chance for mutual acceptance.

Accidental war is a second area for research by Institute scientists. Here we have the opinions of several authoritative men that we would gain more than we lost by dealing in non-classified areas.

Bilateral disarmament—if it is pursued—is going to involve hard tough bargaining and the negotiators are going to have to be very well armed with the facts and details. We will never know if such disarmament agreements are possible unless we look into this area much more closely than has been done to date. James Wadsworth, the former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations has publicly deplored the fact that Geneva negotiations were frequently entered with homework that had been done only the night before.

Professor Kenneth Boulding, one of the Institute directors, has outlined eleven economic areas of peace research that are in need of exploration. Already the economic studies which have been undertaken by the United Nations committee clearly indicate that we can reallocate up to ten per cent of our economy, if necessary, on an annual basis from war to peace purposes—but that we must work out the details for this conversion in advance. It is pertinent to reflect that the European Common Market was thought to be an impossible attainment twenty years ago. When they believed it was essential, they found that it was possible.

International law is another field for peace research, and it is worth noting that Professor Arthur Larson, former consultant to a U.S. President, has cited 113 specific research projects in international law that should be undertaken.

Will the scientists respond to this programme? We have been in correspondence with men in a dozen countries already who have shown keen interest in the Canadian Peace Research Institute. In fact we have even had a communication—albeit a cautiously ambiguous one—from a scientist in a Communist country expressing interest. As a result of the campaign now underway in Canada two men in

England have set up a programme to work on a peace research institute campaign over there.

Canada is not a big enough country to be really significant in world affairs, but we are big enough to set the pace in this field of peace research. Canadians can indeed help start a world wide programme for peace research institutes. We are more affluent than most countries. We are a democratic country where such an idea can be brought to a state of vitality. The mass media in Canada, in fact, have already shown great enthusiasm. Scientific peace research may be the place where Canadians can take world-wide initiative.

Today we have twenty campaign committees working in twenty cities, with thousands of volunteer supporters beginning the task of acquiring the first $2,000,000 by public subscription. Can Canadians in the next few months set a pattern of leadership which the whole world will want to emulate? It remains for all of us to prove that we can.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lt. Col. W. H. Montague.

"A GLIMPSE INTO METRO FUTURE"

An Address by

WILLIAM R. ALLEN, Q.C.
Chairman, Metropolitan Toronto Council

Thursday, February 15, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Distinguished guests and gentlemen. With a rapidly rising world population, with man's increasing control of the natural resources which surround him, and with the responsibility for the organization of men and resources resting upon governments, it may be seen that the statesmen and politicians that make up the governments face an increasing responsibility year by year. This is true in the local scene as well as in the international scene, and this fact is brought home to us locally when we realize that our local governments in Metropolitan Toronto deal with affairs affecting one and a half million persons who provide the money for a total yearly current budget amounting to $160,000,000, including Metropolitan Toronto. In addition to this, Metropolitan Toronto is borrowing money for capital works at a rate in excess of one hundred million dollars a year.

This rather large business is managed by the Metropolitan Toronto Council, which is made up of representatives elected in their local municipalities, with one exception. The one exception is the Chairman of the Council. The Chairman of the Metropolitan Council is named by the elected representatives themselves.

Our speaker today, Mr. William R. Allen, Q.C., is the Second Chairman of the Metropolitan Council. He served five years in active service with the Irish Regiment of Canada and the Queen's York Rangers. He is a graduate of the University of Toronto and Osgoode Hall. Mr. Allen spent twelve consecutive years in the Toronto City Council and has been undefeated in civic elections. Mr. Allen has been a member of the Metropolitan Executive since 1959, and he has served on all city council and metropolitan council standing committees.

We congratulate Mr. Allen upon the services which he has rendered to this city and upon his latest appointment. We look forward to hearing him speak now on the subject, "A Glimpse Into Metro Future."

MR. ALLEN: Peeking into the future can be a dangerous hobby or occupation for anyone, but most of all a politician. Predictions have an uncanny habit of backfiring in the face of an elected representative who dares to forecast the future for others. Quite often a look into the future, if there was any accuracy or certainty, would cause the politician to shudder at his own insecurity. No one can state this with more feeling than the Chairman of the Metropolitan Council who, at the present time, is elected for but a one-year term by the twenty-four people over whose deliberations, debates, discussions and disputes he must preside. Nonetheless I will embark upon my perilous journey to look at the future Metro—because I do believe that you have a particular interest in your local municipal government. You are those who will realize the significant and ever-present role of your local municipal government in your daily affairs.

The supply of electricity which rings the alarm to start you off on another day; the water which runs from the tap hot and cold; the sidewalk upon which you tread as you wend your way to the bus, street car or subway stop of your transit system; or if you are one of those fortunate people who can afford the luxury of driving to work, the very pavement upon which you travel; the police officer who directs you in a line of traffic in the course of his duty to all citizens; that firehall and its occupants on duty around the clock in order to protect you, yours and your property from the ravage of fire; that street upon which you live where business and commercial enterprise is not allowed to intrude; the provision of necessaries of life in food and clothing to those who are destitute and without; the cleanliness of that restaurant where you eat your daily lunch or take the family for a meal—every one of those services are directly attributable to your local municipal government or a utility operating as an agency of it. One can now comprehend the extent to which municipal governmental services affect our daily way of life.

There is another reason why each of us is indirectly concerned with our municipal government—very simply because we must pay for the services which are provided by that government. It is our energetic and active vigilance which will result in the efficient provision of required services, whereas apathy and indolence can lead to an expensive and costly operation. We must play the role of an interested shareholder if we are to reap larger dividends through economic business management.

In the case of the residents of Metropolitan Toronto, there is even another reason for having a particular interest in our form of local government. We are operating today, and have for the past eight years, under a form of government which has proven itself in such a way that it has become the focal point of attention, interest and intense study by so many other urban communities also subjected to the problems of urban sprawl and development which have come to be known since the conclusion of the last world war. We have invoked a federal form of municipal government while maintaining the identity of the constituent municipalities with such visible and marked success that, as proud citizens of Metropolitan Toronto, we should be able to convey at least a reasonable knowledgeability of the formula which we are using.

In that setting I am delighted to be with you today, to consider the future of the metropolitan organization, but I feel that this cannot be done without recalling its beginning. As one of those who was fortunate to be among the twenty-four who assembled in the Legislative Assembly for this Province on Wednesday, April 15th, 1953, I am proud to feel that I was part of the creation of a new government. Today I am even more delighted to realize that the challenge of holding the reins of this government have been entrusted to me. It is somewhat more creative of humility to realize that, as an original member of this new government, the tools with which I was equipped constituted no more than an autographed copy of the rule book, commonly called Bill 80, and a sumptuous luncheon so that I could start to work on a full stomach.

It did not take the members of that Council very long to focus the picture of the problem with which we were confronted. The City of Toronto was the centre of the explosion which was taking place in the urbanization of this area. There were twelve suburbs all rapidly expanding, particularly with residential population, but with a stark shortage of commercial assessment. It was always realized and evident that the city needed the suburbs and the suburbs needed the city. The city needed the new population which was flowing into the suburbs to provide a market for the goods and services of the commerce and industry of the thriving core, and the suburbs needed the non-residential assessment as the credit ballast upon which borrowing could be made in order to support and provide those capital expenditures for schools, roads, water, sewage and all the rest that follow immediately in the wake of an increase in population. Simply, although possibly not completely, the Metropolitan Council was charged with the responsibility to face up to and solve area wide problems by use of area resources with an all-out area attack.

Do you remember, hardly three years ago, the stories of dry taps, empty laundry tubs, rationing of water? . . . Yes, that was the expected story each summer, particularly in the areas farthest removed from Lake Ontario. Under Metropolitan organization and supervision, the construction of pumping stations, treatment plants, mains and reservoirs, involving to date some $60 million, has meant the elimination of all restrictions. Today it is possible to meet the sharply increased demand for water during the hot weather, a demand which has been accentuated by the prolific use of air conditioners to the point where there are days when 300 million gallons of water are consumed in this area. That is a target of which the Metropolitan Works Department can be quite proud in having scored a bullseye. The target for the future is keeping pace with the development of the area, the population of the metropolis and the location of industry. Having çaught up with the backlog, and reached an adequate standard of water supply services, this operation is now in the position where it will guide and lead future land development in a planned programme by the orderly extension of existing mains.

Not so long ago, septic tanks were the order of the day in numerous new housing developments where, through no fault of anyone in particular, sewage facilities were totally inadequate. Over $55 million of Metro money expended in the construction of new plants and enlargement of existing plants, plus new sewer mains, have eliminated the necessity for any septic tanks in the Metropolitan area. This programme of increased sewage treatment at the Ashbridge's Bay plant is also opening the way for greatly increased swimming nd bathing at the eastern beaches of Metropolitan Toronto. The combined actvities in water supply and sewage disposal operations are vanguarding the move to a more economic and well-planned development of Metropolitan Toronto. An area-wide approach to cleaner air has paid off because iron curtains cannot be bought which will prevent air pollution floating from one municipality to another. During the past four years, the average overall visibility in Metropolitan Toronto has increased 790% from 2.1 miles to its present 16.5 miles. The future of this activity is most predictable. The current results demand the continuation of a sensible but hard-hitting programme to reduce the emission of dirt and dust into the air.

Can any of you have forgotten already the single bridge across the Humber River, and those daily tie-ups in the morning and evening rush hours or the funereal procession through Sunnyside Beach every Sunday and holiday evenings? Today one moves like an astronaut in proceeding across the Humber and along the Gardiner Expressway to its present termination, which will be extended by September of this year as far easterly as Spadina Avenue and within another twelve-month period as far as York Street to connect with the Downtown arteries. Metro will then surely have broken some barrier in providing a five-minute non-stop trip from the Humber to Downtown Toronto. Who can forget those long trips along the Kingston Road and then Danforth Avenue in a slow and tiring effort to reach the northern sections of the area? Today, notwithstanding twenty years of frustration prior to Metro, Eglinton Avenue has been extended to connect with the Kingston Road and has joined Scarborough and East York. The entrance from the eastern side of the Metropolis to the northern areas of our thriving suburban municipalities has been completed.

These roads are tangible evidence of the necessity of a federated government, because the good wishes and intentions of individual municipalities could never build such extensive undertakings. On the drawing board, and included in the financial plans of Metro and the Province of Ontario, which pays 50% of all new Metro roads, is a perimeter system of expressways. Across the north of the area is Highway 401; paralleling and along the waterfront is the Gardiner Expressway; in the eastern section of the Metropolis we have the Don Valley Parkway wending its way from the Gardiner Expressway north-easterly to service the people and the businesses of the north-east quadrant of Metropolitan Toronto. Last year a section of this Parkway was opened from Bloor Street to Eglinton. The next leg is eagerly anticipated, stretching this wonderful service to Lawrence Avenue in 1963; then to 401 in 1965, and two years later to Newmarket over a provincial highway. Planning and construction can now be forecast for the immediate future so as to extend the Parkway south to the Gardiner Expressway including a multi-million dollar interchange at the intersection of Queen and King Streets, which will permit the opening of reverse one-way streets through Downtown Toronto as extensions of Richmond Street and Adelaide Street.

The progress which has been made by the Corporation in road transportation, and the proven results by the acceptance of the public of those facilities which have been completed, has led to long-range planning. At this moment we are in the throes of consideration and controversy as to the advisability of approval of the Spadina Expressway project. The Spadina Expressway is proposed as a north-south artery, fulfilling to a degree the same purpose and need for the western section of the Metropolitan Toronto area, as is intended by the Don Valley Parkway for the eastern section. It may be certain that airing of the opposing views will have none but the best results for it has, without intention or design, focussed public interest on an aspect of transportation which has not received, heretofore, the full support of the public treasury to which it has been entitled. The debate over the Spadina Expressway has brought out into the light the financial dilemma of the Toronto Transit Commission. By exposing its financial position, attention has been directed to the inadequacies of its present operation, which are the sole and direct result of the legislation under which it operates.

The legislation, incorporating the T.T.C. and stating its objectives and responsibilities, proclaims that it shall be self-sustaining. It is a clearly proven fact that the public Transit System cannot be self-sustaining when it is required to include in its profit and loss statement debt charges for capital investment such as the construction cost of Rapid Transit Systems and the provision of adequate and sufficient rolling stock to carry the passengers. The only alternative for the Commission is to raise fares. Fares, if raised to the required amount, would be in a sum far beyond the means of most Public Transit riders and most unattractive and non-competitive. I have come to accept the fact that henceforth the Metropolitan Corporation must be responsible, entirely and fully, for all capital expenditures by the Toronto Transit System. There is precedent in the construction arrangements for the Bloor–Danforth–University Subway. Under special provincial legislation, the Metropolitan Corporation has been authorized to acquire and pay for the land and rights of way needed for this subway construction. The Metropolitan Corporation has also been authorized to pay 50% of the actual construction cost. Another strong argument in favour of assistance for the public transportation system is based on the fact that roads for motor vehicles are paid for by taxpayers' money including subsidies from the provincial government. Equal treatment should be accorded those who use public transportation facilities but which are not presently the recipient of subsidies from the provincial government. I predict Public Transit facilities will have to be subsidized and assisted at least to the extent of capital investment in the future.

The immediate future of Metro presents a picture that is ripe with functions which have blossomed area-wide characteristics. The Metropolitan Corporation has embarked in the field of welfare services to a limited degree. The balance of these services, including the provision of relief and the necessaries of life, has remained a local function. In this we have the instance of a divided function between Metro and local municipal administration. Here, if anywhere, there can be detected duplication of effort. Welfare services are area-wide in nature and are quite properly the exclusive function of a metropolitan government.

The provision of housing for those who are unable to provide it for themselves presents another divided function. The Metropolitan Corporation has been engaged in this field for some years with marked success in the provision of homes for the aged and our senior citizens. To a comparatively lesser degree of accomplishment, local councils have participated in the field of public housing. The provision of public housing is not the responsibility of any municipality in this federation, but a responsibility of all municipalities. This is another function which should become the exclusive responsibility of the Metropolitan Corporation where an all-out attack can be made with area wide resources.

Lest one think my mind is narrow and parochial, or that I am looking wholly at the interchange of functions between each of the area municipalities and the Metropolitan municipality, may I direct your attention to a service related to the administration of justice in this area. It is my view that the management and operation, including the control of, and responsibility for, the Toronto Jail should be transferred from the Provincial Government to the Metropolitan Corporation. The existing division of jurisdiction has been the source and cause of a situation which hardly brings credit to municipal administrators.

The Metropolitan Corporation, although charged with the responsibility of providing the dollars which are required to operate the jail, have no status in the hiring or firing of the staff, nor has it any authority in the management and operation of this institution. He who pays should call the tune, and in this instance I believe it is in the best interests of all concerned that the Metropolitan Corporation should be charged with full responsibility for the operation of the Toronto Jail, in as much as it is paying the cost, and will then be in a position to give specific attention to the particular considerations which singularize working conditions in this area from those which prevail elsewhere in the province.

The future of the Metropolitan form of government is clear. It is here to stay. It has proven itself beyond the point of argument. To me there is an inviting field for expansion of activity because in its progressive development there has been unfolded these functions and services which are now demonstrably characterized as area-wide problems demanding area-wide solutions.

The speed with which the future course of the Metropolitan Toronto government advances is totally dependent and related to the availability of dollars as shown in its capital programme originally based on one billion dollars for the next ten years. I am conscious and aware that the consideration of "Ability to Pay" enters the picture rather alarmingly at this point. Realty taxpayers are today being asked to pay for so many services quite unrelated to the ownership of real estate and certainly for services which were never dreamed of with the enactment of the Baldwin Act. Within the limits prescribed by this situation, the Metropolitan Corporation will continue to expand the services of its current functions and extend its base of operations into broader fields all the more and better to vindicate its existence.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Ian Baxter.

"THREATENED CHRISTENDOM"

An Address by

BISHOP STEPHEN NEILL
General Editor, World Christian Books

Thursday, February 22, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The Third Vice-President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley.

MR. LANGLEY: My Lord, distinguished guests and gentlemen. Seldom is it our pleasure to be addressed by a speaker of outstanding stature who is so well known as an authority on such subjects as the Eucumenical Movement and the outreach of the Church in the contemporary world. As visiting Professor to Wycliffe College for the spring term of 1962, the announcement of his lecture courses at Wycliffe is attracting wide attention and interest.

Bishop Neill is a Graduate in Theology, with First Class Honours, from Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was elected a Fellow of that College. In 1924 he went as a missionary to India where he served the Church brilliantly for nearly twenty years. He was Principal of Bishop's Theological College, India. In 1946 he became Assistant to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He has made a great contribution to Christian thought as a creative writer, and his many works are familiar throughout Christendom.

There are few people more competent to address us on the subject "Threatened Christendom" than Bishop Neill—author, scholar and missionary statesman.

BISHOP NEILL: THEN AND NOW. Sixty years on! Would any intelligent observer, looking forward sixty years from 1902, have made one single correct guess as to the state in which the world would find itself in 1962? Those were the days in which the so-called Christian West calmly assumed that its domination of the world was a law of nature, and that nothing remained to be done except to develop and strengthen that domination, where it was not already firmly established. The scramble for Africa had come to an end. Every part of the continent except Ethiopia was under the control of the European powers; Germany's anxious thrust for colonies had been appeased by considerable concessions in the East and West and South-west. South and South-east Asia were safely in the hands of Britain, France and Holland. The great powers had decided not to divide up China between them: it was easier to control the monster through subtly balanced spheres of influence, but in effect China's independence was hardly as much as nominal. The one notabel exception to the rule was Japan. Japan by an immense effort of national reconstruction had emerged out of the twilight of her middle ages into the full light of modernity. This little problem was ingeniously solved by electing Japan as an honorary member of the select club of dominant nations.

Within how short a period all this has changed! What Mr. K. M. Panikkar has neatly called the Vasco de Gama period of history has come to an end. In 1498 Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, liberated Europe from the restrictions imposed by Muslim domination of trade routes by land and sea, and exposed the rest of the world to the expansion of "Christendom," the Christian world-powers. For more than four centuries the initiative was in the thands of the West. It was taken for granted that Western civilization was civilization—there was no other. The ancient cultures of the East were interesting archaeological survivals, but there was really no future for them. So the West imposed its political ideas, its economic systems, its educational practices, its languages: and through Christian missions went a long way towards introducing its religious outlook and habits. On the whole, Africa and the East were glad to have it so. The West came in with all the prestige of its military power and its technological accomplishment; much of what it brought appeared to be good, and many in the Eastern nations were prepared to grasp with both hands what was offered to them. What we now face is the massive reaction of the East to four centuries of Western aggression.

It is not possible to fix an exact date at which the Vasco da Gama epoch came to an end. Some would place the decisive turning point in 1905, when for the first time an Asian nation, Japan, defeated a Western power, Russia. Others would fix on 1914, the outbreak of that first war which fatally injured Western prestige throughout the world; yet others on 1917, the outbreak of the Russian revolution. Mr. Panikkar himself, naturally as an Indian, sees 1947 and the declaration of Indian independence as the great turning point. It does not matter which point we select; the establishment of the domination of the West was a process which took a number of years; it is not surprising if its reduction was also a process which lasted for more than a generation. What is clear is that it has now decisively come to an end.

The West, which was once all-powerful, except in so far as it weakened itself by its own inner schisms, is now a threatened entity. What is happening in the United Nations does represent the reality of the world situation. The possession of the veto by some of the great Western powers enables them to some extent to hide from themselves the stark facts of the changed situation; but it is just the fact that at no point can the West be sure that its voice will be heard or that its will will prevail. It is faced by three major groups which are not willing to accept Western dictation—the Communist bloc, the Afro-Asian bloc and the Latin-American bloc. These do not stand together, and adroit manipulation may at points produce a majority in favour of a Western proposal; but this cannot be counted on, and again and again the West finds itself on the defensive.

It is only common sense to look carefully at the various threats to "Christendom", that world which has grown up out of the Christian tradition, which has sometimes incautiously identified the cause of Christ with its own causes, and which to some extent at least is regarded by the non-Christian world as "The Christian West."

THE FIRST GREAT THREAT. The most obvious threat, and that which immediately comes to our minds, arises from the existence of the communist-controlled world.

We would all probably agree that it is good that we should talk to our friends the other side of the Iron Curtain as long as they are prepared to talk. As long as the talking goes on, the shooting is less likely to start. We welcome every indication of a lowering of the temperature in the cold war. But we merely deceive ourselves if we imagine that we are engaged in anything less than total war. There has been no change whatever in the Communist conviction that the revolution must go forward until it has prevailed over the whole surface of the earth. Capitalism has shown a greater vitality than the early Marxists expected; yet it is bound, so the Communist believes, in the end to collapse under the weight of its own contradictions and to yield to the new and better system.

The Communist has every reason for confidence. The Communists were the only real victors in the second world war. They succeeded in extending their dominion over ten and a half countries, which otherwise might have continued to be part of the free world. Since then they have added China. They continue to press at every point, like wise strategists looking for the soft spots. They are taking a new and unprecedented interest in Africa. They play the game of politics with ingenuity and remorseless persistence.

What has the West so far offered in the way of real argument against this threat? It seems to me that on the whole both the Churches and the secular propagandists have done a remarkably poor job. We have tended to parade our economic strength against an alleged economic weakness of the Communist countries. One constantly meets affirmations that the American workman can buy a new pair of shoes after seven and a half hours of work, or whatever it may be, whereas the Soviet workman has to put in thirty hours of work, or whatever it may be. But is this valid? Mr. Khrushchev has affirmed that by 1970 the Soviet Union will have reached level with the United

States, and will then pass it in production and economic prosperity. I think that he is unduly hopeful, and that the change will take longer than he thinks. But suppose that the time does come when the Communist-controlled countries have gone ahead of us in wealth and economic power, and suppose that we have rested our defence principally or solely on our economic superiority, what argument is then left to us? The real battles are all fought out in the realm of ideas. The Communist has a clear idea of what he wants, based on what he believes to be a scientific understanding of man and of the laws by which human society is governed; unless we can meet him with something equally clear, more deeply thought out, and actually better related to the reality of the human situation, we shall inevitably go down in disaster. I see few signs that we are really girding ourselves to the effort of hard thought that is demanded of us.

THE SECOND GREAT THREAT. The second great threat comes from the emergent nations, those numerous peoples that in the last twenty years have cast off colonial dependence and are asserting their claim to a place in the sun. The number of them is astonishingly large, and the part they will play in the life of the world will certainly increase for many generations.

Now the independence of these peoples does not in itself constitute any threat to us. It does constitute a threat, if the values on which our life has been built up are denied, and other values are defended in their place. It had generally been assumed that the new nations would adopt democratic forms of government, more or less on the European or American model. We have already seen that this was a pathetically optimistic assumption; several of the new nations—Pakistan and the Sudan, for instance—have transformed themselves into military dictatorships; in others the liberties of the subject, as these have developed since Magna Carta, have been gravely infringed. The basic assumptions of the liberal period of Western development are questioned at every turn.

We have to face the fact, I think, that nationalism as it grows in these various countries is likely to take on a totalitarian form. We have been accustomed to the separation of Church and State, a division of life between sacred and secular, and to a large extent the separation of religion from politics. Traditionally these ancient peoples have never accepted or admitted such a division. Life has been experienced as a whole, and the Western fragmentation of it has been felt as something alien and uncomfortable. Traditionally, race, language, culture, political organization and religion have gone together in one single unbroken whole; in some at least of the new countries we see a conscious, or at least partly conscious, will to restore this broken unity; the alliance between nationalism and religion, not unknown among ourselves, is a potent factor in the contemporary world situation.

The country from which most is to be learned is Ceylon. Just because it is an island, Ceylon like Britain has a certain given unity of its own. A large section of the people of that island seem to wish to develop a unity in which every part of life will be comprehended. Buddhism is the religion of the majority; therefore Buddhism must be accepted as the national religion, as the symbol of the desired unity. What is Buddhist is Ceylonese, and what is truly Ceylonese is Buddhist. Sinhalese is the traditional language of Buddhism; therefore Sinhalese alone must be recognized as the national language. All education must be controlled by the government, since it is one of the first duties of a government to protect the young from divisive influences.

The course of this campaign has not been easy. Ceylon has large Hindu and Christian minorities, which for the most part speak Tamil or English. As all Canadians know, people are extraordinarily sensitive to any encroachment on the autonomy of their language. Yet the Ceylonese nationalists have been prepared to press their case to a point at which it endangers the basic unity of their country, by driving the Tamil minority in the north into a state of permanent rebellion. This is the extreme case; but similar phenomena are observable in for instance such Muslim countries as Egypt, Pakistan and Indonesia.

My own field of special interest is the revival of the ancient religious in alliance with nationalism. A century ago Christian missionaries thought that these ancient religions would collapse under the joint influence of Western science and the preaching of the Gospel. The expected has no thappened; these ancient religions are very much alive, and all appear to be undergoing a renaissance. Just how far this is a religious renewal, it is hard to say; but the fact of the renewal cannot be gainsaid.

Under the first shock of encounter with the West, these religions were thrown on the defensive, and for a period suffered from a sense of inferiority. But they have pulled themselves together, rallied their forces, and now present an uncompromising challenge to the West. The first step was the establishment of a claim to spiritual equality with Christianity. Here the decisive year was 1893, when at the Chicago Parliament of Religions, the eloquent Brahman Swami Vivekananda, made a profound impression on the assembly by the vividness and power of his presentation. The spiritual East was present in person to throw out a challenge to the materialism of the West.

Since those days the ancient religions have progressed further, and now claim superiority to Christianity on its own ground. Islam claims to be practically superior. Jesus was an idealist whose teachings are very wonderful; but who lives by them (a comment that Christians find painfully difficult to answer); Muhammed was the practical reformer, who knew what men are capable of, and gave them rules which it is expected that they should obey—and to a remarkable extent do obey. Hinduism claims to be philosophically superior to Christianity. A doctrine of incarnations is all very well for man on a simple level of intellectual existence; it is only in the ancient Hindu wisdom, with its doctrine of the unity of all being in the impersonal One, that the true spiritual wisdom is to be found. Buddhism claims to be ethically superior to the Gospel. Christians have had control of the world for fifteen centuries; what have they done but produce one war after another, each more destructive than the last? (Again, a criticism to which the Christian answer is not obvious.) Give the Buddhist a chance, and he will show the world that he has the true and effective gospel of peace.

It is in the light of their conviction of superiority that we are to understand the missionary activity of these ancient religions of the East. The all have their missionaries throughout the West; the number of converts is perhaps not large; yet many modern men seem to find attractive these forms of ancient wisdom, with their appeal to man to be his own saviour, and to give up what they represent as the cringing attitude of the Christian who must look for salvation outside himself.

THE THIRD GREAT THREAT. The most serious threat always comes from within. So it is with us. If the West has lost faith in itself and in its own values. To a considerable extent this seems already to have happened to us; perhaps the greatest of all the successes of the Marxist is that he has made the West anxious and doubtful of the validity of its own claims.

Just after the first world war, the mood of cynicism and reaction against the established order was naturally very strong. After all, our fathers had brought the war upon the world; how was it possible to believe any longer in their intelligence or virtue? They were certainly wrong; it was possible that something else might be right. The Marxist Gospel presented itself to many as the thing that might possibly be right. A surprisingly large number of the most promising young intellectuals in Britain went to fight on the Marxist side in the Spanish Civil War, "to strike a blow for freedom." Some died; others came home disillusioned by what they saw; many have remained sadly nostalgic in a world in which there no longer seems ot be a cause worth fighting for.

The same attitude was fairly widespread in the United States. The group of leftist writers of that time included a number of notable names. During the bad days of Senator McCarthy, I fancy that a large part of the American intelligentsia felt extremely uncomfortable at the thought of what might be dug up about the past.

The second world war popularized, if it did not produce, existentialism. Here there was no new Gospel, though some existentialists flirted with the Russian cause. There was rather a sense of the supreme unreality and futility of life. "Value" is a bourgeois concept, related to the maintenance of the *status quo*. Man must realize his own individuality and freedom, with no deep conviction that they are worth winning after all. And at no point will he admit himself to be indebted to society, or responsible to serve it. Some in the younger generation still find that the nihilism of Sartre speaks to their condition; but I believe that existentialism has passed its peak, and that we are passing into a different and, in its own way, equally dangerous situation.

As one gets older, it is increasingly difficult to keep in touch with the thought of younger people. But I have the impression that a great many in the younger generation today are marked by an uncritical and rather cynical acceptance of what is just because it is. We don't talk any more about good and evil, right or wrong. It is unfashionable to be too enthusiastic about any cause. The bomb may go off, and that will finish everything. In the meantime, we have only one life to live, and we had better live it as pleasantly and comfortably as we can, in what after all is not too bad a world for those who have brains and a certain amount of money. Many observers have remarked that the coming generation does not seem to be much interested in politics; there is a turning away from great issues to the merely practical job of finding and keeping a way of earning one's living.

If this is true then we are face to face with the greatest threat to our existence. Causes only live as long as men and women are prepared to die for them. Any Communist is prepared at any moment to die for the furtherance of the cause. Ask the average American or Canadian student what he is prepared to die for; his immediate reaction may not be to treat the question seriously; if he can be persuaded to take it seriously, he may find himself perplexed as to the answer that he should give. We find ourselves faced once more by the possibility that the West as we know it may not survive.

"That would be a good thing" will be the comment of the Marxist. "That wouldn't really matter" chip in our friends in Asia and Africa, who, after all, include a good deal more than half the human race; "we shall get on perfectly well without you, and our ancient religions will serve as the basis of other and perhaps better civilizations." "That wouldn't really matter" adds our Western cynic;

"things are so bad in the West that a change could only be for the better." As a Christian, I am perfectly prepared from one point of view to say, "That wouldn't matter at all." It is at our peril that we identify God's cause with ourselves. The centre of gravity of Christianity has shifted several times already. Christianity began as a Middle Eastern religion. It became a religion of the northern Mediterranean. With the Reformation, the centre shifted to the Atlantic seaboard. It has now temporarily moved westwards to the American continent. But God could perfectly easily decide to start again in Africa, and show us that He can get on very well without us. His cause will not fail; but we might cease to be the instrument through which His cause could move forward.

Yet I do not really think that it would be a good thing if the West collapsed. I believe that some of our values are genuine values, that some of our ideals of freedom and justice are of universal validity, and are not likely to survive outside the frame of reference in which we have lived, that we do hold in trust certain good gifts for the whole of mankind. But I am sure that we cannot play our part in the world unless there is a great recovery of the sense of what that part is, and what is the task that we are called responsibly to fulfil.

THE WAY TO RECOVERY. I have called my talk "Threatened Christendom." I believe that the West can survive only if it takes seriously the fact that it is, however imperfectly, the Christian West. The Christian faith has been our cradle. This has been the maker of our nations, the guide of our prophets, the framework within which we have learned to think and to feel. This is perhaps more evident to those outside than it is to ourselves. We are well aware how little serious Christianity there is in the West today, and how deeply we have been penetrated by alien spirits. But anyone from Asia or Africa who wants to understand us at all finds at once that he has to make a serious study of the Christian faith. If he wishes to understand English literature, he must acquaint himself with the Bible. Our democracy is a tragically imperfect thing; but what is good in it remains unintelligible unless it is seen in relation to the Christian conviction of those who were its pioneers.

We may forget our cradle and deny our origins; it is not so easy to be wholly rid of them. And I, of course, as a Christian, am convinced that we cannot survive unless we turn back to those origins, glory in them and make them effective as the basis of society. Christendom in the true sense is happily much wider today than the traditionally Christian West. But my title was not chosen at random. I am speaking in the main in traditional terms, and of that part of the world in which the greater part of the Christian forces, and of Christian vitality, are to be found. I would single out just four Christian convictions as basic to my argument.

1. I spoke of the conflict of ideas in which we are engaged with the Marxist. The heart of our disagreement is with regard to the doctrine of man. Traditionally the West has found the reality of man's being in his dependence on God. The Marxist denies God; he therefore cannot but deny man. We must recover the sense of this dependence; only so can the rights of the individual be protected against the growing anonymity of our society. The boasted equality of all men is only equality in the sight of God; in no other way are men equal, neither in intelligence, nor in attractiveness, nor in usefulness to society. It is their equal relatedness to God that makes them equal. The Christian holds that man is truly man only as he lives consciously in this relatedness and this dependence. Failing this, it is so easy to lose the genuinely human dimension, as we have seen so frightfully in Nazi Germany. When this relationship is distorted, every other relationship, of man to the world in which he lives, of man to himself, of man to his neighbour, is also twisted out of shape.

2. We have to recover the sense of right and wrong, and to inculcate it in the young. There are constants in the life of men in society, just as there are constants in nature (you see, I have carefully avoided the use of the word "laws"). The discovery and analysis of the former is a far more difficult task than the discovery and analysis of the latter; it is not surprising that we have made much less progress in our moral than in our physical understanding

of the universe. Yet we neglect the moral constants at our peril, just as any disregard of the physical constants is certain to be followed by disaster; you cannot play fast and loose with the universe without something going gravely wrong. And where are the moral constants to be found? The ten commandments are not a bad starting-point. They give a picture of the way in which men can live peacefully and responsibly in society. We may well want to go beyond them to refine and to elucidate. Yet if all men lived in accordance with these simple ancient rules, our jails would be more than half empty, our magistrates would be looking round for work and half our psychiatrists would be out on the street.

3. We must bring back to honour the sense of duty. "Freely ye have received, freely give" was said in a religious context. But surely it is the basic motto for the whole of life. Patriotism is not a very popular virtue these days; and in its exaggerated forms, it can be the source of countless evils. Yet, in its true sense of regard for the past and recognition of our own indebtedness to those who have lived before us, is it not an admirable thing? Out of a sense of responsibility to the past because of all that it has brought us grows readily a sense of responsibility for the future. This is what the Christian would call "stewardship"—the making available of all that a man has for the service of God and man.

4. The Christian, being a realist, acknowledges the fact that not much will happen in society unless men and women are actuated by the spirit of self-sacrifice. Every reform, every advance, has to be paid for. It just will not come about unless enough people are prepared to pay the price—in vision, in labour, and probably also in financial sacrifice or loss. This doctrine is highly unpopular in our acquisitive and competitive society; but it is just because our society is acquisitive and possessive that it seems likely to go on the rocks. Christian doctrine is centred in the life itself for the sake of the men that He came to serve; and in this the Christian sees the image of the love of God; for love in the New Testament means redemptive action which sets no limit at all to the price that may have to be paid. The doctrine of the Cross is always unwelcome to

men. Yet it has been found in practice to have redemptive power. It is more than anything else the message that the West needs to hear today. Is there any place, other than in the Christian Gospel, where it is to be heard?

CONCLUSION. I do not take a very rosy view of the West and its chances. If we are to present even a moderately respectable front to the rest of the world, a gigantic effort of national renewal and recovery is needed, both in Church and State. Countless evident evils—unemployment, juvenile delinquency, social inequality, inadequate and misdirected education, social maladjustment, mental ill-health and any number of others—have to be tackled. The very foundations have to be strengthened. The spirit of the West needs to be renewed. If you ask whether I find, among statesmen and churchmen, clear awareness of our predicament, commanding vision and sensible practical plans to put in hand even a few of the things that need to be done, I must answer that I see very little of it. The hour is very late; it may already be too late. Do I then regard the recovery of the West as impossible? To this I must answer, "With God all things are possible." I am, as you see, a somewhat hardheaded realist. But I am also a Christian and, as a Christian, I absolutely refuse to despair of the future.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. Ernest M. Howse.

"THE COMMONWEALTH"

An Address by

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT AMORY
United Kingdom High Commissioner in Canada

With the Canadian Club and
the Toronto Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society

Thursday, March 1, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: This is March 1, St. David's Day, the National Day of Wales. Perhaps the day should not pass without a salute to the Welsh who, both in joy and in sorrow, have always found reasons to sing and who have, in all history, been on the side of freedom. We are particularly pleased to have at this table two distinguished sons of Wales and two great Canadians, Mr. Leonard Brockington, and The Reverend Emlyn Davies. We salute them and all others from Wales in this room on this St. David's Day.

We do not have a speaker who claims to come from Wales but I may say that our speaker's ancestral ties are in the West Country, in the County of Devon, which is not so far from Wales, at least in a geographic sense.

If one were to try to distill into one word the life work of our speaker today, that one word would have to be duty or service—words which are almost synonymous. For, in England, the tradition of great public service on the part of many old families runs like a pattern of scarlet threads through the fabric of English history. The life of our distinguished speaker today illustrates the figure.

As a boy, Derick Heathcoat Amory attended Eton, that famous school which has contributed so many men devoted to public service on both sides of the House of Commons. Later, after Christ Church, Oxford, Lord Amory became a member of The Devon County Council where he served as Chairman of the Education Committee. Ever since that time Lord Amory has had an intense interest in young people's work and has been closely associated with the Boy Scout movement, with young farmers' groups and with the boards' of management of several schools and universities.

For twenty years Lord Amory was a territorial officer before going on active service in 1940. In the air-borne operation at Arnhem in the fall of 1944, he was severely wounded and taken prisoner. In 1945 at the behest of Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Amory entered politics and won the Tiverton Seat. He became a Member of the Government in 1951 and held a number of cabinet posts culminating in his appointment as Chancellor of The Exchequer in January, 1958.

Although he had wished to retire from office in 1959, Lord Amory was persuaded to remain with the government until 1960, when he took his seat in the House of Lords in October of that year. But new responsibilities were urged upon him, and in the autumn of 1961 Lord Amory was named as High Commissioner to Canada.

Our guest today has had experience and heavy responsibilities in many aspects of man's affairs—agriculture, manufacturing and business, finance, education and government at many levels. Moreover, he is aware that these are matters of vital concern to everyone in a democracy. Through his travels and close contacts with many groups of workers, he has come to have an intimate knowledge of the way these matters are seen through the eyes of the man in the street.

This lifetime of service to the United Kingdom and The Commonwealth is an example to all who feel deeply about the responsible conduct of human affairs. For our part, I may say to you, Sir, that no matter where you go in the English-speaking world today, you will not find an audience more cordial in its reception, nor more devoted to the ideals of The Commonwealth for which you are such an eloquent spokesman. The Commonwealth has been described as a union not of parchment but of men's hearts and minds, and it is in that spirit that the members of the Canadian Club, the Royal Commonwealth Society and The Empire Club of Canada welcome you here today, to address us on the subject "The Commonwealth."

LORD AMORY: I very much welcomed the chance of talking to you this afternoon about the Commonwealth for two reasons. First, because it is the most imaginative and ambitious project in multi-racial co-operation that the world has ever known. And, second, because the next four years are likely to be of decisive importance for its future. As Britain and Canada are the two most senior of the independent nations of the Commonwealth, I am sure it is right that you and we should be doing a lot of thinking together about the nature of the Commonwealth and the best guidance we can give to the new members who have recently achieved independence.

I hasten to assure you that I have not lured you her today under a pretence of speaking to you on the Commonwealth, only to inflict on you another harangue on the Common Market. If I should unconsciously drift back into Common Marketry at any point, I hope you will excuse it as a symptom of my occupational disease.

It is generally a good thing at the start of a talk like this to agree on a definition of the subject of the discussion. What precisely is the Commonwealth? Alas, few things are more difficult to define. The Commonwealth has often been described as a family or a club. I am not at all sure that either of these provides a really adequate definition of the Commonwealth as it is today. In thinking of the Comomnwealth as a family there is perhaps a danger of putting too much emphasis upon sentiment. Without wishing in any way to detract from the very real part played by sentiment in our relationship, I believe it would be a misreading of contemporary history to believe that the Commonwealth is founded on sentiment alone. The analogy of the club is perhaps better but is it quite good enough? The Commonwealth does not have the minimum number of rules which govern the conduct of even the least purposeful club. There can therefore be no penalties for breaking rules.

The Commonwealth has no secretariat or central organization. It has no formal links at all except the recognition and acknowledgement of The Queen, not as its Sovereign but as titular Head of the Commonwealth—a kind of honorary appointment. There are some who consider the Commonwealth to be essentially an exclusive trading community, but this is an even less realistic assumption. Our links and our strength are certainly not only based only on our co-operative trading relationships, important as these have been in the past, and are today. Indeed, it is a tantalizing paradox that the Commonwealth can often best be defined in negative rather than positive terms. This leads some cyincs to the conclusion that it is a negative association. But such a conclusion would be wholly wrong both as to present fact and future potentiality.

We are not a power bloc; nor are we a third force. We are not united by membership of any defence alliances. We are not a substitute for the United Nations. We are bound by no written undertakings. We have no formal constitution. We have no shared religion. We have few habits or ways of life and no standard of living common to us all. The pattern of our voting on United Nations issues over the years reveals none of that rigid uninamity of view that is a dubious asset ofthe Communist countries. Though we can take pride in the fact that on one issue—that of disarmament—all Commonwealth countries agreed at the last Prime Ministers' Meeting to make a determined and united approach.

When our Ministers meet they are not concerned with scoring debating points off one another; nor do they need to be concerned that what they say is going to be trumpeted around the world, because Commonwealth Ministerial discussions are confidential. One of the great advantages of these meetings, therefore, is that representatives of different Commonwealth countries can speak frankly to one another as between friends and colleagues. No collective decisions are made which would infringe the independent sovereignty of each member nation. One of the best descriptions of the Commonwealth was that of the late Mr. MacKenzie King who called it a continuing conference of Cabinets.

Another former Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Fraser, once described the Commonwealth as 'independence with something added', or independence plus, and 'not independence with something taken away'. Both descriptions go to the heart ofthe matter; that our combined wisdom and experience is greater than the sum of our separate contributions; that membership of the Commonwealth enhances rather than reduces the freedom and the maturity and the influence of its separate members. And there we begin to recognize its positive nature. The member nations belong because spontaneously they want to. And they want to because they feel they derive some benefit from belonging. Those who have attended Commonwealth conferences will know this positive spirit. It is not just sentiment but enlightened self-interest that provides the motive—and when one looks at history, that has ever proved the most enduring cement in international relationships.

Today the Commonwealth is astonishingly different from what it was even twenty years ago: and there is no denying that there are many stresses and strains within it which in the main reflect the strains that afflict the whole of the contemporary world. We would be foolish not to recognize them; it would be less than statesmanlike if we did not take account of them in our policies and plans. We in Britain like to think that the Commonwealth is a unique example in the world's history of a progression from Empire into something much more ambitious and imaginative. The world has seen many Empires come and go; the usual pattern has been for Empires to decay and to be destroyed by force. But the British Empire is on the way to being transformed voluntarily into a co-operative Commonwealth whose influence for good is widely recognized by the outside world.

My Prime Minister has recently described the Commonwealth as being at the point of dawn rather than of dusk. And indeed, it is profoundly important that we should remember that in our new relationship we are indeed a *young* association. We should, therefore, always be looking forward, ready for whatever further changes in aims and structure are called for to meet the challenges of this rapidly changing world. This very concept of youth however points to certain dangers. For youth is impatient. It wants results quickly. It is often easily discouraged when things go wrong. And there is no denying that in our youthful association, as I have said, there are many strains, some of them potentially dangerous. That throws a special onus on us—the more senior members—to show patience and sympathy and understanding and to give the best guidance we can from our longer experience.

What after all is seventeen years in the life of civilized man? Yet in this period since the Second World War, an immense transformation has taken place, not only in terms of scientific discoveries and social developments, but in terms of the destinies of nations. During this very brief moment in history the Commonwealth has grown from five independent countries to a total now of thirteen, with the prospect of several more within the next few years. It has grown from an association mainly composed of peoples of British origin to one in which Asian and African peoples outnumber those of British stock by ten to one. These few years have seen more than 600 million people achieve independent sovereign status. Is not that an astonishing achievement? Today only six per cent of the population of the Commonwealth remain in British Colonial dependencies. Ninety-four per cent are in independent countries, represented at the United Nations, taking their place in the counsels of the world.

It is fashionable in some quarters today to decry Imperialism and Colonialism as dirty words. And this habit has been most actively encouraged by Communist regimes who themselves have enslaved one nation after another and held them down in rigid subjection. But Britain is proud of her imperial and colonial record, in bringing so many peoples to the appreciation of nationhood and teaching them the arts of self-government. Lord Macaulay wrote about a hundred years ago: "To have found a people sunk in the depth of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous of and capable of all the privileges of citizens would indeed be a title to glory all our own."

The freedom and independence to which we have brought so many peoples have not come as a result of pressure from outside but as a result of a premeditated and consistent policy voluntarily practised by successive British Governments over the past hundred years. It is indeed a fine record, in which I think most Canadians share our pride. There is one tendency we are witnessing in the United Nations today, which is highly dangerous. A readiness in some quarters to support any action which has an anti-colonial aim regardless of its moral justification. Force, it is alleged, is justifiable if it has an anti-colonial objective. Such an attitude surely is in direct conflict with the principles and objects for which the United Nations was founded.

Another current danger is the misuse of the words "justice" and "democracy," again actively promoted by Communist regimes. Many things are being done today in various parts of the world in the name of democracy which are in fact in flat contradiction to its principles. So much for the recent past and the present.

Where do we go from here? What are going to be the links of our Commonwealth association for the future? First of all there must be a common recognition that where there are rights there must also be responsibilities and duties. Member countries must put something in as well as take something out—must contribute as well as take. Without responsibilities and duties, membership would be likely to become too diluted to mean much. This is an aspect of membership which I believe calls fo urgent thought and study if the Commonwealth is to endure. Peering into the crystal ball, it is impossible to see which of our existing bonds of association will prove the most enduring; one can take encouragement that there appear to be potentialities in them all. Let us consider what they are.

The Crown will mean more to the older members with ties of ancestry and long shared traditions than to the newer. That is natural. Republics will presumably be a common feature among the Asian and African countries. Democratic Parliamentary Government is the system in which Colonies have been trained and it is the system they have spontaneously opted for on achieving independence. Those of us who have practised this system longest know that, while for us it is the best, it is also the most difficult system of government. It calls for more patience, forbearance and tolerance than any other. It is by no means necessarily the most efficient in the short term. Whether it will in fact prove the most suited to the needs of all the new members we do not know. They will decide for themselves in the light of practical experience.

Already this system is being subjected to severe strains and stresses in some countries. It may be, at any rate in the early years after independence, some of them may feel the need for a stronger central authority than is normally provided by democratic parliamentary control. The point I think is that we older democracies should watch their experiments with a good deal of patience and sympathy because, after all, it has taken us centuries to find the form of government best suited to our needs. And even now those of use who have had close experience of the working of our system will perhaps be least inclined to claim perfection. You may regard that as a typical instance of British understatement. Then there is the link of a belief in the freedom and equality of the individual citizen under the law, and a respect for minorities. That I feel is the most fundamental of the principles which we share. But it is of course not unique to the Commonwealth. And again—like parliamentary democracy—there are signs of strains and stresses and imperfections already showing in some countries. But it is a principle at least acknowledged by all members as the ideal to be aimed at. Racial equality is another fundamental principle of the new Commonwealth. Indeed one member country's resignation was recently brought about through a failure to accept this principle. It will be important that the newer members should be vigilant to ensure that this principle is as conscientiously applied in the case of a white minority as in the case of a coloured minority.

Then we come to economic links. There is clearly no common level of living standards. Indeed, on the contrary, unhappily dramatic divergencies. The income per head in some of the poorer countries being no more than $\frac{1}{15}$ or $\frac{1}{20}$ of that of the wealthier countries. In such circumstances, and if membership of the Commonwealth is going to mean anything, clearly the wealthier members must do their best to help their poorer partners strengthen their economies and improve their living standards. There are three ways of doing this: by trade, by technical assistance and education, and bythe provision of capital through investment, loans or gifts. All three will be needed. But trade is the best form of aid and so our clear duty must be to see that we help the poorer countries to help themselves by opening our markets to their exports. That is common humanity and in the long run good business too. There is at present no Commonwealth trade system or organization apart from the tariff preferences mutually offered over part of the trading field. These unfortunately have tended gradually to diminish in importance over recent years, as most of the Commonwealth countries have wished to build up their own secondary industries behind effective tariff protection. Britain has continued to give free entry in most cases for Commonwealth products though the preferences she receives in return on her manufactured goods exported to Commonwealth countries have tended to diminish. No Commonwealth country other than Britain has been willing to consider over recent years any scheme for Commonwealth free trade.

As regards capital aid, the demand is enormously greater than the supply. Much is being done. Apart from private investment, the British Government has been of recent years providing about $500 million a year in grants and loans. And now British private investment in the Commonwealth has been running at a rate of about $900 million a year. In regard to private investment it is important for the would-be receiver countries to realize that everything will depend on the long-term prospects of political stability, and security for the investment. But perhaps the most important lesson for us to remember is that if we are going to be in a position to help the less developed countries with capital or gifts, it is essential that we keep our own economies strong and efficient.

In this current issue of the European Common Market we have a development which seems in line with the requirements of the age we live in. This is bound to make an impact on the Commonwealth. The test is whether it will contribute to the growing unity of the free world. The British Government believe that the objectives of the European Economic Community are to be applauded and supported. The twenty or so countries of Western Europe are still divided by customs barriers and other restrictions. When faced with the group of totalitarian countries the other side of the Iron Curtain that makes no sense today and will make less in the years ahead. My Government's considered assessment—not lightly arrived at—is that if Britain can join the Common Market on terms that are reasonable and fair to Britain, and to the Commonwealth, we shall be a source of greater strength to the Commonwealth as a trading partner and a supplier of capital than if we remained isolated from Europe. The fact that we should be participating actively in European affairs does not mean that we should be losing interest in the Commonwealth.

On the contrary, Mr. Macmillan has said in the House of Commons, "if a closer relationship between the United Kingdom and the countries of the E.E.C. were to disrupt the long standing and historic ties between the United Kingdom and the other nations of the Commonwealth, the loss would be greater than the gain. . . . I do not think that Britain's contribution to the Commonwealth will be reduced if Europe unites. On the contrary, I think that its value will be enhanced."

So I want you to believe that Britain in negotiating with Europe is in no sense attempting to loosen the Commonwealth links ,or to turn aside from the Commonwealth. She is rather seeking a new relationship with Europe that should add to her strength and influence in the world and so to her value to the Commonwealth. Looking to the future one obvious danger is the possibility of some of the small countries now achieving independence—some having a population maybe of only a few hundred thousand —not proving economically viable or capable of standing alone on their own feet. One would expect that the answer particularly for small countries of that kind would lie in association in regional Federations or Confederations. It is very disappointing in that connection that the proposed West Indian Federation has foundered through lack of agreement between the islands concerned.

It is in a sense ironic that at a time when the biggest nations are acknowledging their interdependence and consequent need to associate together, a spirit of eager nationalism is bringing into existence a large number of new small and economically weak nations. Perhaps however that is in keeping with the ways of nature. In a few years' time the phase of colonial administration and education will be over. There will substantially be only independent countries in the Commonwealth. It is a remarkable tribute that to date almost every colony on achieving independence has voluntarily opted for membership of the Commonwealth. The new Commonwealth will be based on diversity of races, religions, colours and cultures. Let us not forget that some of the new members themselves have ancient traditions and cultures.

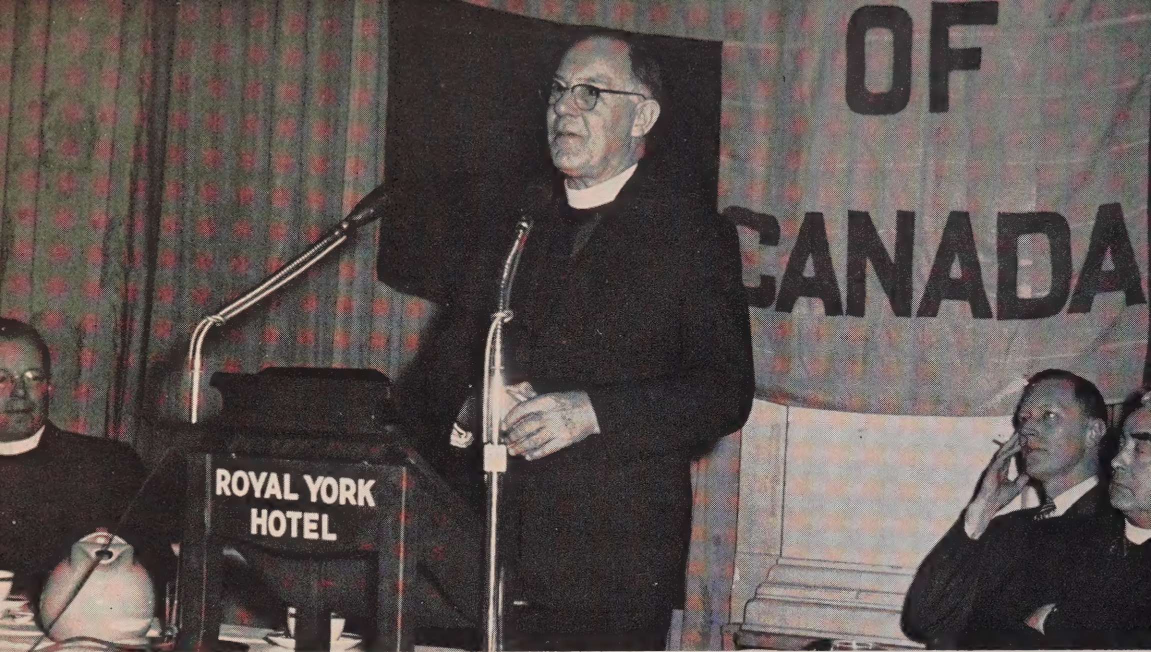
The English language will be a cohesive influence. Perhaps the strongest unifying force of all will be the shared acceptance of a kind of code of decent conduct and way of life centred on the freedom of the individual and respect for minority views, and give and take in practical affairs —that sense of fairness that is probably the greatest gift of the English speaking nations to the world. Consultation and intimate contacts at all levels and in all kinds of activities will be a continuing essential. Our Ministers and senior officials must know one another personally and intimately. A friendly sense of humour is an essential ingredient. We have in Britain a voluntary project called Voluntary Service Overseas. This organization makes arrangements for young men and girls to give a year's service in an underdeveloped country. It has shown that often young people can establish contact with their contemporaries in the countries visited better than older people. Both the young themselves and their hosts seem to have benefited. You have a somewhat similar organization called Canadian Overseas Volunteers. I think these schemes are worthy of all possible help.

It seems to me that we in Canada and Britain have a great responsibility as members of the Commonwealth today. There are two big tasks ahead of us older members. The first is a practical task and the second a moral one. The practical one is the problem of helping to raise the standards of living among the peoples of Asia and Africa. In many parts of the Commonwealth there is and always has been acute poverty and people cannot be expected to work for great ideals on empty stomachs. The Commonwealth is perhaps the only group in the world which includes the haves and the have nots, the wealthy and the poor. United Nations statistics prove unfortunately that the gap between the richer and the poorer countries is increasing, the rich tending to become richer and the poor, poorer. This is a trend we must reverse, and in doing so we must make sure that the self-respect of the recipients is not injured and that the donors are not impoverished.

But we must act quickly enough to prevent the collapse of developing democratic political systems. This may well prove the most intractable and difficult problem of the next decade, but we must face it with determination. The moral task is at least as important. Some of the people newly come to independence are weighing in some bewilderment the performances of the free nations of the West and the Communist regimes respectively. There are beams enough in our own eyes and many things in our civilization that must puzzle and bewilder some of our friends from other civilizations—strife in industry, the sordidness of some of our cheap literature and films, and perhaps sometimes the ostentatious luxury of our affluent society.

We must prove that the way of life in which we have staked our faith is in practice as good as the claims we make for it. Then we can feel that we have a sound base from which to offer leadership and guidance in this tremendous experiment of a multi-racial Commonwealth of free nations. I have always liked some words that are inscribed on a column outside, I think, the President's House at New Delhi in India:

In thought Faith, in word
Wisdom, in deed Courage,
in life Service, so may
India be great.


OF
CANADA
ROYAL YORK
HOTEL

Bishop Stephen Neill Meeting, February 22nd, 1962

The Rt. Hon. Viscount Amory Meeting, March 1st, 1962

Perhaps those words provide us with not a bad epitome for the spirit of our new Commonwealth. It is indeed a great project in which you and we are participating—charged with problems, with difficulties and uncertainties—but charged too with challenges and opportunities. Let us save it with faith and loyalty, for it is surely a potent influence for sanity and stability in this harrassed and bewildered world.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Morgan Reid, President of The Canadian Club.

"WHY SO MUCH GLOOM?"

An Address by

WILSON WOODSIDE
National Director, United Nations Association in Canada

Thursday, March 8th, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The First Vice-President, Mr. J. Palmer Kent.

MR. KENT: Gentlemen. Dr. Phimister, our President, is in Montreal this week attending the National Convention on Education, and he has asked me to take his place. I am delighted to do so particularly because a friend of mine of many years is the speaker. I believe this is the eleventh time that Mr. Wilson Woodside has addressed us, and I do not know anyone who has been invited more often. I remember him as one of the leading spirits of S.P.S. at the University here. Yes, he trained as an engineer, became a traveller and a student of Foreign Affairs and then a writer and a commentator. He warned us first about Hitler and later about Stalin and Khrushchev.

Mr. Woodside was born in Portage la Prairie and raised in Saskatoon and Calgary. He is happily married and has five children. He has been a Foreign Editor and Associate Editor of *Saturday Night*. He was a delegate to the Bruges Conference on the Atlantic Community, sponsored by the Ford Foundation in 1957, and the Atlantic Congress in London, England, in 1959. He is best known to us through his writings and his commentaries on radio and television. Since 1958 he has been the National Director of the United Nations Association in Canada.

As one of Canada's most famous news analysts, Mr. Wilson Woodside will address us on the subject "WHY SO MUCH GLOOM?"

MR. WOODSIDE: Why so much gloom over the UN? A few months ago it was supposed to be in dire danger of paralysis through the Soviet "Troika" plan for abolishing the Secretary-General's office and installing a trio, each with veto. The UN Assembly didn't put on any satisfying show of heroics in choosing a successor. But when the votes were counted in November, it was found that not one of those poor, weak, inexperienced, uncommitted nations had deserted Hammarskjold's kind of UN and gone over to the Soviet plan.

A new Secretary-General was installed, with full powers of office, and at once began to act with the same quiet decisiveness Hammarskjold had shown, and made such a good start I believe he will be re-elected a year from now.

Then we had the gloom about the UN being bankrupt. An insurance company is said to be bidding for the big glass building. True, the UN has nothing to be proud of in the way it has allowed members to dodge paying their assessments. If nations are to have a UN they will have to pay for it. At present only 14 members are paying for the Congo and 28 for the Suez force.

This problem arises from the failure of the General Assembly to put all the expenses in one budget. All members, except Nationalist China, have paid their assessment for the regular budget until lately. Four of the smallest Latin members are now in arrears. But many members, led by the Soviets, have argued that the secretary's operations should not go into the regular budget. The Assembly has now asked the International Court of Justice for a ruling. In the meantime, the Assembly has floated a bond issue which all members have guaranteed to repay, by assessment.

Since the bond issue is mainly to cover past expenses of the Congo, this sets a precedent. I think the International Court will decide there should be only one budget and that all members should contribute.

Then there was a lot of gloom over Goa. Now, I don't approve of the way India took over Goa. I think she should have referred the case to the International Court of Justice long ago. She might have offered a UN-supervised plebiscite after the liberation. She might have promised that all Goans who wanted to go to Portugal could leave, and take their property with them.

Nor do I approve of the action of the three non-Soviet members of the Security Council in refusing to censure India for using force as she did. Nevertheless I believe that India and the ex-colonial countries have a strong case when they claim that the Portugese were using force to hold a part of Indian territory, and for fourteen years had refused all bids to negotiate, whereas the British and French had negotiated and left.

It is preposterous to suggest, as Mr. Stevenson did—at 1:00 a.m., after a long, frustrating debate—that the Goan crisis may lead to the death of the UN. The UN has survived much worse crises than Goa. Shortly after it was born it was plunged into the long and difficult Palestine crisis. It went from that almost immediately into the even longer, more divisive Korean crisis. Then, after a couple of years of respite came the dangerous Suez crisis, followed by the Lebanese crisis. The UN, I believe, came out of all of these crises stronger than it went in.

In the last few months of Mr. Hammarskjold's life, it looked as if his persistence and his quiet, skilful diplomacy would pull a success out of the immensely difficult Congo crisis, despite the ferocious onslaught of the Soviets. Now, after a period of uncertainly during the changeover, it appears as if U Thant is going to secure a modest success. And if failure would have severely damaged the UN's prestige and its usefulness in further such situations, one must concede that a success will strengthen it.

The UN is going through what might be called a "change of life". In this time of change, the world could not live at peace—or in as much peace as we have—without the UN. As Dag Hammarskjold said, "The United Nations is the mould which keeps the hot metal from spilling over. If they tear down the United Nations, why, they would just have to build it up again."

Why so much gloom over the Berlin crisis, the world situation, or the Communist threat? The Berlin situation was very critical last September and October. Khrushchev pushed it right to the edge of war, believing we would crack. But we didn't crack; in particular, President Kennedy faced him down. And, you see, we have won a respite, whereas if we had given in we would be involved in a continuing crisis, surrendering West Germany after West Berlin, and Western Europe after West Germany.

Kennedy's decision may rank with Truman's great decisions, in upholding Greece and Turkey in 1947, defying the Berlin Blockade in 1948, forming NATO in 1949, and resisting in Korea in 1950.

We can see now, as I argued last summer, that Khrushchev would not actually go to war, risking all that had been built up in Russia since the Revolution and leaving Russia so weakened, even in the case of victory, that China would be able to take over leadership of the Communist world—and move into Soviet Central Asia. We can also see that he is not ready to place the East Germans in a position where they could involve the Soviet Union in war, by handing over to them control of the access routes to Berlin.

We can see that he tried to use the resumption of nuclear testing, demanded by his military people, as a last great psychological wallop which was to frighten our people so that they would make our governments surrender. But it didn't come off.

Now, isn't it reasonable to think that there are people attending the Central Committee meeting in Moscow this week who don't think that Khrushchev has managed so well in this latest cold war bout? They may be thinking that in view of the splitting of the Communist world bloc it is time to take a narrower view of the interests of the Soviet Union, and that carrying on the cold war indefinitely does not best serve these interests.

After all, consider the change in Soviet Russia's position in recent years. Not so very long ago she had a weak and ruined Europe on one flank and a dependable ally on the other. Her European satellites were docile, and Communist parties all over the world looked to Moscow for leadership.

How all this has changed! On the one side the Soviet Union has a prosperous Western Europe, uniting to become a new world power, her economy growing faster than that of the Soviet Union, her people incomparably more prosperous. On the other side is a China which openly rejects the leadership of Moscow and is splitting the Communist world. And within the Soviet Union the university students and intelligentsia are in a state of ferment, which Khrushchev's Government cannot suppress as Stalin did.

For this generation Communism is the wave of the past, not the future. What they want is what people everywhere want: the better life. Khrushchev himself has just admitted that Communism has failed, after forty-five years, to feed the Soviet people adequately. While Gagarin and Titov orbitted the earth, their people were lined up in food queues in Moscow.

What I am arguing is that times change and that the day is coming when Soviet leaders will recognize that the cold war does not serve the best interests of the Soviet Union. What has it done for them in recent years but build a United Europe, which may pull away their satellites? If they keep it up they will almost certainly build an Atlantic Union. Also, it would be impossible to negotiate or carry on disarmament and institute arms control while insisting on provoking trouble everywhere in the world. Arms reduction is going to require a genuine lessening of tension, and the Soviets have the same compelling reasons to seek arms reduction as we have.

These are some of the reasons why I ask, "Why so much gloom?"

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. John W. Griffin.

"REALISM OR FATALISM"

An Address by

DONALD GORDON
Chairman and President, Canadian National Railways

Joint Meeting with the Canadian Club of Toronto

Monday, March 12th, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President of the Canadian Club, Mr. Morgan Reid.

MR. GORDON: I have found the theme I would like to be able to discuss with you today too large a subject for me. And so, after a bare outline of this larger issue, I shall retreat rapidly into my own modest sphere of activity where I can claim to speak with some authority.

First then, let me try to put into words some questions that can hardly be avoided as one looks at the state of the world we are living in. For surely in all human experience there is no record of such a revolution in human affairs as our world has witnessed in the past couple of decades. With the advent of new implements of destruction so terrible that the mind recoils from the thought of their use, the resort to war as a means of settlement of disputes between nations must be rejected by any rational individual.

But having said that war is impossible and that there is no alternative to peace, how then is peace to be secured? Here, it seems, the human race is caught in an extraordinary dilemma. It has achieved a means of mutual destruction, but has failed to discover an acceptable means whereby two completely conflicting ideologies can share the world in peace. For it seems clear that our western society will not accept the ideology and doctrine of the communist society nor can our western views be imposed upon the communist world.

Has modern man in fact failed to adapt himself to the massive changes in his environment brought about by his own ingenuity, and is he capable of measuring up to the physical and psychological challenges he has himself created? In a little more than ten short years we have seen war—one of the oldest habits of mankind—changed by the Nuclear Age into a way of mutual suicide. And more recently, we have seen the emergence of a Space Age that might well cause us to exclaim with Hamlet: "There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your philosophy!"

As I said at the beginning of this talk, the theme is too large for me, so I leave it with only a comment to provide the bridge over which I shall retreat to the relative safety of my own range of comprehension. My comment is that I see no need for despair or fatalism despite the frustrations, exasperations and confusions. The basic lesson must surely be already obvious, namely that the right of unlimited sovereignty on the part of any nation or any group of nations is no longer possible in our new world—a world dominated by a scientific capability that demonstrates an enormously enlarged productivity, undreamed of speed in communications, and, most important of all—the devastating potential of thermonuclear warfare.

In this new world, conflict of opinions must be reconciled and not crushed. One side cannot take action without concern for the other. Therefore, I cannot believe that the human mind is incapable of developing the sort of world organization that will recognize the needs of the times. Indeed, the Charter of the United Nations already states the fundamentals, and what has been called "A Crisis of Confidence" in respect of its functioning must reflect only the strains that are inevitable as mankind struggles to establish the rule of law, peace on earth and good will towards men. So it is from this conviction that I pass on. For it seems equally obvious that if we Canadians are to fit into the scheme of things in a world order we must first learn how to order our own affairs and demonstrate our ability to find solutions for our own recurring domestic problems.

My main purpose in coming here today was to speak to you about my business, which is transportation. The capacity in which I speak is that of a railroader, and first of all I present my credentials. They stem from the fact that among more than 100 Class I railroads in North America, I am one of the six longest serving presidents. I am constrained to sound this personal note because the fact that I was once identified with the banking business is for some reason played up in public references as if I were an amateur in my job of railroading. I take this opportunity, therefore, to stake my claim to the job description of a railroader and to say that my twelve years as President of Canadian National have not been merely an exercise in longevity but have given me an unusual concentration of experience. Indeed, my years of railroading have seen the most radical industry changes in the history of the transportation business. In fact, during these years the competitive environment of the transportation industry has completely changed, and along with that has gone a major technological revolution in equipment and in methods of operation.

Transportation in terms of its availability, its flexibility and its cost, is one of the important requirements of the Canadian economy. Without an efficient low-cost transportation system, Canada simply could not have become one of the larger industrial nations of the Free World, nor could it have become one of the world's largest trading nations. It follows that the Canadian transportation industry is also heavily influenced by the economic health of Canada and must be concerned, not only with its own role, but as well with anything that changes the scope and character of Canada's trade.

My introductory references to the gigantic changes flowing out of the disciplines that are being imposed by the Nuclear Age and the coming Space Age may now be brought into this context. For already part of the struggle between conflicting interests is being expressed in the formation of large trading blocs, each designed to create a form of self-contained area protected by tariffs against outside encroachment. In these developments the Canadian position seems rather obscure but, most certainly, we cannot live unto ourselves. We simply do not have a domestic market of a size that could support a policy of trying to establish an independent trading entity so that we will have to be ready to reach some sort of an accommodation with all or some of the trading groups that are in formation.

Along with this problem is that which emerges from the possible appearance in world markets of goods from hitherto undeveloped countries which have been encouraged to achieve both political independence and industrial competence. By definition, many of these goods for a considerable time will appear on the markets of the world as the products of low wage industries and will be generally competitive with the products of more mature and high cost economies, such as Canada's. These developments will certainly bring major problems, and it will take all the skill and knowledge we have to meet the challenges they present. Undoubtedly, the need is to improve our productivity, develop new technology, improve specialization where we have natural advantages and generally to face our problems with bold, imaginative and realistic appreciation of the competitive forces we must meet.

Against this background, it is easy to see why the costs of our products for export become so vitally important. With transportation adding something to the cost of almost everything we use or export, the nature of Canada's transportation system is thus also a matter of vital concern. We are fortunate, therefore, that there recently became available Volume II of the Royal Commission's Report on Transportation, with its recommendations to improve Canada's transportation efficiency.

The Commission was appointed in May, 1959, and travelled to every province in Canada, receiving submissions from more than 140 different parties in 134 days of public hearings. Its first volume of recommendations was made public in April 1961. It laid the foundation for the conclusions and recommendations of the second volume which was tabled in the House of Commons less than two months ago. A third volume, to be submitted later, will present a number of special studies undertaken by the Commission.

The recommendations in both Volumes I and II are an outstanding contribution to the fresh thinking needed to find real and lasting solutions to modern-day transportation problems. In fact, this Report is not only a treatise on transportation problems, but it is also a forceful enunciation of how the basic principles of competition and freedom of enterprise may be made to serve the general good of the Canadian people.

I am not suggesting, of course, that the Report is a complete answer to every question in the complex of Canada's transportation, nor do I intend my comments to be interpreted as an endorsement of each and every recommendation made. What I do say is that the Report is a most searching and thoughtful analysis, excellently presented, and that it does not shrink from stating the challenge that free enterprise presents to everyone who believes in that system. It states boldly that lip service is not enough and sweeps aside the often hypocritical utterances of vested interest. For these reasons I advance my opinion that the Report is required reading for everyone with a serious interest in transportation and its influence on Canada's economy.

The fundamental recommendations concern rate freedom. That is to say, the freedom to establish rates and adjust them as business sagacity directs, with railway rates subject only to minimum and maximum rate controls. These recommendations for rate freedom apply to all transportation media and recognize competition between every mode of transportation as the best regulator of efficiency. The proposals would reduce sharply the need for regulation and, subject only to maximum and minimum rate rules, the railways would have all the discretion on non-statutory pricing matters that any other company has, including their transportation competitors. However, the feature that is fundamental to transportation economics and efficiency is that rate freedom would achieve the most effective allocation of transportation resources by forcing every mode of transport to operate at the lowest possible costs in a free and open market place.

This principle of rate freedom is in complete accord with the principles by which Canadian National has lived, within the limitations of existing regulation. Although by an accident of history it is a publicly-owned corporation, Canadian National, as everyone knows, has always operated according to the principles and within the framework of free enterprise and under the same regulatory rules as its privately-owned counterpart, the Canadian Pacific Railway. With implementation of the proposed rate freedom which would permit the railways to react with speed and flexibility to the forces of competition, the railway industry should establish rapidly what their rightful share of the transportation market is in terms of what traffic it can attract with the services it has to offer and the prices it must charge. In such a truly competitive environment I am confident that the railways can and will survive as efficient, healthy and profitable undertakings.

A clear line is drawn by the Royal Commission between national policy and national transportation policy. The lack of this separation in the past has undoubtedly confused enquiries into Canadian transportation problems. The MacPherson Report separates these two policies by stating that a clear distinction has to be drawn between the objectives of a national policy which uses transportation to achieve certain ends and the objective of the national transportation policy which it defines to be efficiency and economy in the transportation system. The Commission further recommends government action that would redress the competitive imbalance against the railways by removing, and I quote: "certain national obligations which reside with the railways as the legacy of tradition, law and public policy."

As a first step towards adjusting the balance of competition between the various modes of transportation in Canada, and removing burdens that have seriously weakened the competitive position of the railways, the Commission declares that public policy must be changed in four major areas and these are summed up in the Report in this language, and I quote:

> 1. The regulation of transportation in Canada should be minimized as much as possible, consistent with the protection of the public interest, *and such regulation as*

is retained should bear in a reasonably equitable fashion on all carriers.

2. The rationalization of railway plant and operations should be actively encouraged by public policy and where, for national policy reasons, it is considered necessary to retain rail operations *such as unprofitable passenger or branch line services, the railways should be entitled to payment from public funds to cover their deficits on such services.*
3. No particular form of transport should be singled out as an instrument of national policy if any burden is involved in the performance of the function *unless* sufficient compensation is provided to that mode of transport to prevent distortions in the competitive transportation market.

and finally,

4. Assistance to transportation which is designed to aid, on national policy grounds, particular shippers and particular regions *should be recognized for what it is and not be disguised as a subsidy to the transportation industry.* Moreover, whenever assistance of this kind is distributed through the transportation medium it should be available on a non-discriminatory basis *to all carriers.*

I want to point out that the recommendations I have just read to you are by no means all pro rail, but rather are "pro" whatever is the most efficient and economical mode of transportation for the shipper, whether it be by air, rail, water, pipeline or truck. In other words, they are not biased in the railways favour, but are an objective analysis of what needs to be done to ensure the most efficient and effective allocation of the nation's transportation resources.

The observations of the Commission on the freedom to enter into new trucking operations are extremely important since trucking has become an integral part of the competitive transportation system. I feel that such freedom is of definite value to the shippers—the users of the services—and would allow the railways to integrate their road and rail services to produce transportation required at the lowest possible cost to the country. Thus under the competitive conditions outlined, freedom of entry into the trucking field, for anyone willing to assume the risks and obligations, should certainly dispose of any fears that the railways will monopolize the trucking industry in Canada. In fact, the Commission clearly states that the only thing that independent truckers could fear was the possibility of increased efficiency through railway ownership, and the Report emphatically states that "Efficiency should not be penalized".

Concurrent with rate freedom, the Commission holds that the railways must receive relief from uneconomic branch lines and passenger services that are no longer required or used by the public because of the mushrooming growth of modern highway networks.

This relief from the burden of uneconomic services is necessary to enable the railways to compete freely with other modes of transportation. The Commission recognizes that the burden placed on rail shippers by loss operations should be removed gradually. For example, it has recommended that the abandonment of uneconomic lines should be spread over a period of time so as to avoid the disruption that a rapid programme would bring to labour, to shippers, to investment tied to rail and to communities affected. However, the Commission is opposed to paying long-term subsidies for uneconomic services and would only tolerate payments to the extent that the Government decides the maintenance of certain services to be necessary for national policy purposes.

The Commission's proposals clearly indicate that it agrees with the railways that subsidies are payments to the people of Canada—to manufacturers and consumers in certain sections of the country. They are *not* payments to the railways in the hand-out, something-for-nothing category! At Canadian National we consider ourselves lucky if these "indemnity payments"—for that is what they are—meet the actual cost of the service we must perform because of the obligations of national policy, and it is basically in accord with this fact that the Report recommends "that transportation which is designed to aid on national policy grounds particular shippers and particular regions should be recognized for what it is and not be disguised as a subsidy to the transportation industry".

Now let me say a few words about how the Commission's recommendations for rate freedom and rate controls might be implemented. Unfortunately, the railway freight rate structure has had a history of great complexity and even some experts have fears that the recommendations of the Commission may bog down under the weight of administrative impracticability. I do not share that view. The Commission has explicitly stated that under present-day circumstances there is no justification for elaborate and expensive rate regulating machinery. The new mechanism of railway rate control would replace, not supplement, the present freight rate regulations. The Commission recommends that: "Railways in common with other carriers, particularly trucks, will be free to make independent assessment of all their rates and adjust them as business acumen directs, subject only to the maximum controls over significant monopoly and the minimum controls of directly associated costs of the movement."

The minimum rate formula suggested by the Commission makes good sense in any industry. We are not going to cut below costs or charge anyone less than the out-of-pocket costs of the movement. So far as maximum rate control is concerned, for the great majority of commodities, there is really no need for it since competition is sufficiently pervasive to ensure that if the railways want to live and want to carry anything they must offer competitive rates. Nevertheless, in the small number of instances where the shipper may be regarded as captive to the railways, the Commission wants to ensure that he is protected. The maximum rate recommended is 150% above the long-run variable costs of moving a 30,000 pound carload. At first glance this percentage may seem high, but if you knew the cost characteristics of the railway as I do, you would consider this percentage moderate or even low.

Just for a moment, consider the fixed costs of a railway which do not vary with the volume of traffic moved. An example is the 24,000 miles of Canadian National right-of-way which must be maintained, fenced, kept clear of weeds and snow, drained and taxes paid, regardless of the number of cars or trains which move over the road-bed. These costs, plus many other costs which are not related to volume, must be met from the excess of revenue above the costs directly related to any particular shipment. This principle is not new, and undoubtedly all of you here today are familiar with it, for it is basic to free enterprise and competition. What is new is that this principle has finally been proposed as applicable to the railways.

The Commission has allowed for a transitional period for the implementation of the new rate mechanism so that there would not be a rupture to the present rate structure. The large majority of existing rates are attuned to competition and will not be changed substantially with rate freedom. Another segment of our rates will in all probability have to fall to make ourselves more effective in the market place. Before a rate is raised, its relationship to costs will be carefully studied by railway management since any change in rate will automatically subject that rate to the maximum rate control.

Under the new formula, horizontal rate increases, as we have them now, would no longer be needed to protect railway earnings. However, it is important to note that the Commission says explicitly that all the recommendations with regard to maximum and minimum rate control, the removal of the burden of unprofitable lines and services, and the granting of related subsidies, must be brought about in their entirety, concurrent with the cancellation of the present rate regulations. A partial implementation of the recommendations will not solve the nation's transportation problems.

And finally, in respect of the whole programme, the Commission has very ably stated the managerial function:

> Management of rail facilities is the responsibility of the rail company, be it privately or publicly owned. Within the framework of government regulations, management must be free to manage. The responsibility must be theirs to initiate the removal of unprofitable segments of their business, to streamline their operations, to reduce costs and to initiate new facilities to meet the needs of the shipping public. No one else can do this for them and no one else should try to do so. That mangement must do the managing is an elementary principle, the acceptance of which we believe is

vital to the achievement of an efficient rail transportation system in Canada.

Despite what I have just quoted it must be realized that management cannot bring about the changes necessary to improve the nation's transportation efficiency without the whole-hearted support and co-operation of labour, of the public and of the various regulatory and legislative bodies. And this brings me to a very important subject affecting the railway situation which I want to touch on very briefly before concluding. It is the subject of labour-management relations. The Commission, of course, recognized this to be an important subject but found that it was not included in their terms of reference.

Let me emphasize that there is nothing in the MacPherson Report that guarantees or assures what portion of the transportation market can be secured for railroading and its associated services. On the contrary, the Report makes it bluntly clear that in advocating competition as the best regulator of efficiency it assumes that each transportation medium will find only the share of the market to which it is entitled in terms of its own inherent advantages, be they reflected in equipment, service, cost or otherwise. In recommending the removal of outmoded regulations and restrictions that would impose discriminatory burdens on any transportation medium, it is clear that reference is made to *all* forms of out-moded rules and practices. Thus the Report speaks to governments, to shipping interests, to communities and to labour and management alike.

It has saddened me, therefore, that in current discussions with labour this fact does not seem to have been grasped by our labour friends and that management's all-out effort to achieve a basis on which directly to negotiate realistic working agreements has been rebuffed.

I refer now to what you have all read in your newspapers about demands made on the railways for a "job freeze", based on 1961 employment levels, from fifteen unions representing 110,000 non-operating employees.

In dealing with this, railway management made honest, sincere and far-reaching proposals to settle the uneasiness of employees about job security. Our proposals included guaranteed jobs or income for employees with 20 or more years' service—and bear in mind that in the railway industry that group today represents one-third of the work force —and also severance pay on a guaranteed scale for those with more than eight years' service. These proposals also included a wage increase to be negotiated in the light of work security and other benefits, and were subject only to recognition being given by the unions to changes in seniority groupings and certain work rules that would provide sufficient flexibility to make management's new approach both practical and workable.

Frankly, I am baffled that our union leaders have apparently failed to recognize that this pioneering effort by railway management would benefit the employee by substantially improving stability in railway employment in Canada. It is in the long-term interest of the employee, as well as the railway, that management be allocated the necessary flexibility and mobility in the assignment of the work force. The plan that we proposed was designed to reduce unnecessary layoffs caused by a multiplicity of seniority groupings based on "point and craft" restrictions that prevent the transfer of workers from one point or job to another to meet actual work requirements. Thus the restrictions of the existing seniority system frustrate efforts by management to maintain the employment level in periods of fluctuating demand and do not fit into the present-day environment of the railway industry.

It seems to me that in refusing to negotiate on matters of this kind, our union leaders are not serving the real interests of the employees they represent. For it would appear that unless labour is prepared to deal in realism and face the competitive facts of life in what has become a fiercely competitive transportation world—instead of insisting that wage and working agreements can be reached only on its own terms—there is little hope that settlements can be made which will enable railway companies to compete today and tomorrow. Inevitably, over time, that means a fatalistic acceptance of a much greater reduction in the railway labour force than would have been necessary in future adaptation to the new transportation environment. For the truths of economic survival are no different from the facts of physical survival—no species can survive unless it adapts to its changing environment.

In concluding, let me repeat that transportation costs will certainly continue to be an important factor in determining Canadian industry's competitive position in world markets. If Canada is to be at its best fighting weight, it cannot afford to go into the international ring with the fatiguing fat of services and products—or, indeed, of a work force—priced beyond what could be achieved if costs were whittled by efficiency and attuned to realism.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

"INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN RACE RELATIONS"

An Address by

DR. JAMES H. ROBINSON
Director, Operation Crossroads Africa, Inc.

Thursday, March 22nd, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Our speaker today is Dr. James H. Robinson, who every year speaks to as many if not more students than any other man in the United States. Dr. Robinson's efforts have influenced student groups in initiating a number of domestic and overseas projects. Over five thousand students have given voluntary service to these enterprises.

During the summer of 1958, Dr. Robinson took his first pilot project, known as operation Crossroads Africa, on a student study seminar and work camp project to five countries of West Africa. The group consisted of seventy-five undergraduates, graduates and leaders representing forty-one colleges and universities and all racial and faith groups in the United States. In the summer of 1960 he expanded the group and took 183 students and twenty leaders and other personnel to ten countries of West Africa. Dr. Robinson intends to concentrate on the continent of Africa for the next five years.

Until recently Dr. Robinson was Pastor of the Church of the Master and Director of the Morningside Community Centre, located in Harlem in New York City, but in addition to this major work he has given outstanding leadership to many community enterprises. He has helped to found the interracial fellowship of greater New York; the Sydenham Hospital (the first such interracial institution in the United States), and the National Scholarship Service for Negro students.

During World War II, Dr. Robinson preached and lectured for the army, and recently for the air force. In April 1955 Dr. Robinson was invited to give the Lyman Beecher lectures at Yale Divinity School, Yale University. This is perhaps the greatest honour which can come to a minister, for this particular lecture is undoubtedly the most renowned of its kind in the world. The lectures were published in 1955 under the title of "Adventurous Preaching".

We are pleased to have as our speaker today one who has influenced the lives of many for good, and who has directly brought help to the emerging nations in Africa, on which the attention of the world is focussed today. It is my pleasure to present Dr. James H. Robinson, who will address us on the subject, "INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN RACE RELATIONS".

DR. ROBINSON: The revolutionary changes in Africa are shaking every social, economic, political and cultural foundation of that continent from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope and from Dakar on the west to Zanzibar on the east. These changes, little short of miraculous, have taken place within the last two decades and most of them within the last ten years, but the changes are not limited to Africa alone. Upheavals have erupted so rapidly in the wake of what Premier Macmillan of England called "winds of change", that they have forced the nations of the West, as well as the nations of Asia and the Far East, to make basic readjustments in their attitudes, policies and strategies as they form new relationships to the rapidly developing nations of Africa which did not exist a half-dozen years ago. In the process of these dynamic changes both African nations and African individuals have gained important and increased status, as they are thrust by historical circumstances into the family of nations.

At the end of World War II, almost no great nation in the world had any significant plans for relating to what was shortly to be the cataclysmic events of emerging African nations. Most European nations, with the possible exception of Great Britain, still evolved their policies of relationship to the areas of Africa they controlled, in terms of what they thought would be an indefinite extension of colonial relationships. The United States, at the time, did not even have a desk of any consequence in the Department of State to advise on Africa and obviously had no well defined African policy. Our policies, if any, were related to Africa through our colonial allies.

It would also be fair to say that even an average American Christian thought of Africa in terms of the old Edgar Rice Burroughs framework which considered Africa as a far-off mysterious dark continent filled with black, backward, uneducated, uncultured people with no significant history behind them and very little future before them. This attitude was still prevalent, despite the heroic sacrifice of a significant number of devoted Christians who held the call of Divine missions to share in the redemption of the people of Africa, many of whom paid willingly with their lives, even though they knew that the day they set foot on African soil they began to die. It is a sad commentary that few pastors and members of Christian churches, in America, held the same high hopes of developing a sociological, political, economic, social and religious basis in Africa, similar or equivalent to our own, to the same degree as these intrepid missionaries.

Up to 1950, all the principal, political, economic and social decisions involving four-fifths of the people of Africa and three-fourths of its land area, were made in London, Paris, Lisbon and Brussels. Fortunately, none of these decisions were made in Washington, although financial and industrial influence was deeply intertwined in European policy. Unfortunately, on the other hand, we had on influence on the minds of Africans desiring political independence and a new way of life, nor did our government have any direct international relationships in Africa, except with Liberia, Ethiopia and, to a lesser degree, South Africa. Yet political, economic and social ferment in Africa had been going on for the last quarter of a century with increasing intensity, even though most of it was submerged since the pleas of Africans were firmly contained, controlled or suppressed by European powers.

As late as five years ago, there were only four African nations, including South Africa, which held membership in the United Nations. Today, there are twenty-five nations, sixteen of which have been admitted to the United Nations in 1961. It seems hard to believe, but it is true, that representatives of African nations, along with their Asian colleagues in the Afro-Asian Bloc, now play a very significant, if not dominant role in the United Nations. The result is an entirely new focus on the importance of Africa's role in the world and a radical shift both in the centre and in the balance of power.

Up to three years ago, almost no African nation, excepting a mere half-dozen, had direct relationships of any kind with the countries of the Middle East, Asia, and South America. Almost daily, one reads of delegations from Africa visiting all parts of the world on political, social, economic, trade and a variety of missions. Conversely, a few years back there were few, if any, unofficial visitors from Asia and South America to Africa, but today there is hardly a capital of an independent African country which does not have either accredited diplomatic representatives or plans for future representation to an extent they never dreamed of three of four years previously. This is a development of greater significance than most Europeans, Americans, and perhaps even Africans themselves have yet caught up with. This is precisely so because it brings the African continent into a cross-fertilization with peoples and nations of the world from whom they were hitherto denied access.

The rapid change of the tremendous events which are reshaping Africa into a wholly new continent and catapulting it into world relatedness cannot be considered apart from the dynamic changes of world social, economic and political order. The rapidity of the means of communication and transportation is bringing the peoples and nations of the earth into closer relationships. Moreover, the fact that the African continent is the last great bastion of mineral resources, so greatly in demand by the technological developments of today's world, cannot help but thrust

Africa and its new nations into the vortex of the world situation. This would be so, even if there were not the cold war developments which have led both the West and the Soviets into an increased rivalry for the minds and souls of the people of Africa and for the tremendous quantities of mineral resources in the bosom of Africa's soil.

The sum and substance of this new international impact has created a rediscovery of Africa by Western nations and a discovery of Africa on the part of all the other nations of the world which had no relationship with the continent. On the other hand, it has occasioned a discovery of the world by Africans. Twenty years ago, only a few thousand Africans were permitted to leave the continent to study abroad in colonial countries and few could cross the boundaries established by colonial governments within the continent. Today, African students not only go to colleges in other African nations, but they are enrolled in universities from Jerusalem to Peking and from Hawaii to Moscow. Furthermore, unofficial delegations of labour and political and cutural groups and organizations are constantly on the move seeking aid and support, attending conferences and making friends. Even before Kenya becomes independent, it leaders have opened up the world to Kenya. Brilliant, indefatigable Tom Mboya and Jomo Kenyatta changed Kenya from a spot on the map to a place to reckon with. Four members of the Legislative Council toured the Middles East and Asia in the Fall of 1961, and while Jomo Kenyatta was still under restriction at Marsabit, leaders of many countries beat a path to his door.

On my first extended trip to Africa in 1954, Africans in all countries were astounded that I had crossed so many boundaries and talked with so many of the leaders of neighbouring countries. Even at that time, men who knew very little beyond the boundaries of either their own local tribal areas or the arbitrary limits of their countries, had become aware of Africa as a whole. In Kenya, they asked me about what was then known as the Gold Coast. In Dakar, they were concerned about the organization of labour unions in the Camerouns. In the Congo, they wanted to know about developments in Nigeria. In Liberia, they raised questions about the Rhodesias. In Ethiopia, they were not disinterested in Africa South of the Sahara, as I had been led to believe. But in all countries, they spoke with great feeling and in the most hostile tones about South Africa, Angola and Mozambique. When I discussed the Mau Mau emergency with a group of students at the University College in Accra, and referred to the terrorists' activities, one lad stood up to chastise me by saying, "Dr. Robinson, they are not terrorists, they are like your patriots in 1776 fighting for their land, their freedom, and for independence."

The rejection of colonialism has not and cannot move with the same speed in all countries. The speed depends upon a number of complex and interrelated factors which are different in different areas and different colonial powers. It proceeded fastest and best where the controlling power was willing to recognize the changing fact of history and graciously prepare their people at home and the people of Africa for the change (it does not matter that they did this with some reluctance); where there were no settlers; where there were no great industrial installations or discoveries of tremendous deposits of mineral wealth; where there was a fairly sizeable body of educated people. In these areas of West Africa, the leaders and their people soon learned that violence was not the best or the only weapon of liberation. This is to a great extent also true in the culturally homogeneous areas of North Africa.

Contrary-wise, it was proceeded more slowly in those areas where the colonial powers have pursued an enlightened policy; where there has been unyielding resistance supported by a die-hard policy in Europe and encouragement from their countrepart in the United States and an intractable settler population in the African country. In counries like South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, and the Federation of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias, Africans will ultimately, though in different degrees, reject colonialism and seek independence and an equal voice in government with whatever means are available to them, although they have shown that they prefer to achieve the ends with nonviolent means and methods.

A sad case in point is the turbulent and unhappy Congo —a land of fabulous mineral deposits, where the ruling powers made no preparation for growth and change, discouraged higher learning to the extent of having only fourteen Africans of university graduate level out of 13,500,000 people, and a host of other equally negative factors overlooked by an interest that was wholly economic exploitation and a paternalism unequalled in colonialism.

One contemplates in horror the recent violence in the Congo which is indicative of the frightening fate which might overtake those areas which refuse to yield to history, time and change. Though methods of violence as a method of change is horrible and cannot be condoned, it is well to put these events in Africa in the framework of revolutionary changes in Europe's past which were accompanied by bloody strife. By comparison with Europe, the African situation up to now is a quiescent affair; and one that gives, fortunately enough, little evidence that it will be anywhere nearly as long. Nonetheless, Africans will be satisfied with nothing less than the complete and final demise of colonialism.

The greatest single change is wrought by the breaking of the colonial ties which Africans have been hammering at for a long time. While rejecting colonialism and demanding the opportuntiy for self-government and independence, Africans have not wholly, out of hand, rejected Europeans, especially where Europeans have demonstrated a desire to share with them as equals and as partners. It is, however, true that there is a long history of insolence and domination of Africans which has yet to be overcome. Stubborn resistance to African demands for treatment as equal members of the family of nations and of the human race and subordination of personality plus stringent racial segregation and denial of basic opportunities in the formula of apartheid still bodes ill for the future. However, in the main, Africans are still ready to work with people from Europe and America on the basis of mutual respect and equality. It simply remains for the former European colonial powers and their representatives to reciprocate on this common ground of mutual respect and partnership which Africans are seeking. Many Africans are not only aware of, but will readily concede to the importance of the developments during the colonial epoch, even though the framework in which these developments were made is to them anathema. They know, however, that whatever economic development and achievements were made in Africa were basically those of exploitation of both their people and their resources, in which they did not share to any considerable degree. They are simply not willing to have this situation continue, even if it would greatly improve their lot economically and socially.

President Sekou Touré of Guinea spoke for all Africans when he said "We prefer independence and poverty to riches and slavery." Africans are just as willing to readily admit this agreement with, and appreciation of, the new-aid programmes of some of the European countries and the United States in their lands so long as this is not a return of a neo-colonialism or a continuation of the old paternalism. In other words, they want political colonialism eradicated, but they will just as rigorously reject an economic colonialism.

The rejection of colonialism and its death has finally begun to free African people and countries from the ties which bound them solely to European colonial powers and denied them access to the rest of the world. Until the last two or three decades, the African people had absolutely almost no contact with the rest of the world. It is equally important to understand that peoples of the various African nations had only minimal, if any, contact at all, even with their neighbours. Often members of tribal groups were isolated from each other by the arbitrary lines which often split the geographical areas where tribal and ethnic groups of the same family spread over a wide territory. Even though they were the same people and sometimes of the same family, they could not readily cross the arbitrary boundaries of the political divisions drawn by the Europeans.

But with the demise of colonialism, Africans have not only begun to discover Africa, they have begun to discover the rest of the world, and the rest of the world has begun to discover them. Colonial disengagement of European powers has, therefore, created a desire on the part of Africans for engagement, not only with their near neighbours and peoples, in even the remotest parts of Africa, but engagement with the other nations of the world, who were denied access to the continent and with whom Africans were neither permitted nor encouraged to develop relationships. Their recent discovery of one another and their developing relationships with nations around the world will move much more rapidly. The most important aspect stimulating this desire of discovery is their common opposition to colonialism, their common desire to achieve independent status and equality and respect from the other members of the family of nations, and their common need of all kinds of assistance and trade.

Interest in, concern for and the resulting confrontation with Africans of other nations has led to be loosely, but inaccurately, referred to as Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism is destined to become a powerful force of change and will stimulate many more changes.

The new, but latent, desire to understand and relate to the rest of Africa, beyond the boundaries by which they were formerly limited, have now become a reality, for not only do the new rising leaders among African students relate to Africans in the great university centres of other countries, and get to know them, but Africans are travelling all over Africa in innumerable capacities, not the least of which are the many efforts of Pan-Africanism, or the more particular and special conferences called by the churches, the labour unions, the governments, and many other organizations.

The new Pan-Africanism projected on the continent, most often thought of by Westerners as basically a political concept, is in reality much broader than the limited area which most of us have assigned it. It is, in fact, a rallying cry for those with many motives but with a basic desire for something specific, authentic and distinctive as they seek to shape a new African personality, which is resulting from the sustenance of a multitude of bewildering social, educational, religious and political shocks which the people are sustaining. Pan-Africanism is a result of perhaps the most significant and greatest change in Africa—a change in attitude towards themselves as people of equal worth and with unique characteristics and contributions.

Poised as they are between the old civilization of Africa and the new civilization of the Western world, with which they have been related through colonial machinery which has now become confused with the impact of increased Soviet and Asian interests, Africans are neither the people they were three decades ago, nor have they been, nor do they desire to be, molded into the pattern of the peoples who are vying to imprint their own civilization upon African culture. While they desire to move out of the past, they do not, on the other hand, desire to be European, American, Russian, Asian or anything else but what they themselves hope to become—a fact undoubtedly not fully recognized by those who seek to influence or to win Africans. Although they desire independence, freedom, education and the progress of the modern world, they want more than anything else to be themselves.

This new recognition of the importance of self, as they reach toward a new dignity of self-respect and independence, is an important fact with which most of us outside Africa must fully come to terms. Having begun to develop a new sense of personal pride and personal worth, Africans are done forever with paternalism, arrogance and condescension, no matter from which ideology or area of the earth it comes. They have absolutely no complex about race or colour; on the contrary, they are proud of their colour and they measure the worth and acceptability of many other people partly by it. No longer is a European or a person with a white skin thought to be better, more intelligent or more important than an African, an Asian or a Middle Easterner. In fact, whiteness of skin carries definite liabilities, even for many sincere and devoted missionaries. This does not mean that Africans fail to recognize the tremendous contribution of white men to Africa—far from it. Africans, not only appreciate this fact, but they desire those of every race, including the white race, who will believe in them and work with them as partners and equals, not only to remain but to come and join with them, as they march toward a new place in self-government and international relationships.

Changing as it is, often with dramatic speed, a whole new continent is entering the main stream of its peoples' quest for human dignity. It is inevitable that the problem of "who am I", and "where am I going" should loom large though not as overt or as articulate and prominent as material and political organizations, in Africa's concept of its future. The discredit of old African cultures and ways of life brought by the impact of Western civilization, in the beginning, induced a number of Africans to reject their customs, rites, and rituals through which their fathers had achieved a sense of balance, dignity and a satisfying relationship between the spiritual and material world in which they lived. Today, however, after the first impact of this onslaught has worn off, more and more Africans are seeking a reinterpretation and a new pride in their old indigenous cultures, without, at the same time, being immobilized by looking back too fondly and unobjectively upon former ancient grandeur. It is most unfortunate that most people in the West knew so little of Africa's past which was wilfully neglected by the Western conquerors and the penetration of business and commerce, and was too little known and understood by Africans themselves. Nevertheless, Africa does have a substantial cultural heritage. Achieving a proper balance between the old and the new will, in large measure, determine the success of African stability and progress in the future.

The psychological problems created by the necessary synthesis has important implications both for the Africans to understand themselves and their role in the world and for the people of other nations who must work out new relationships with Africans. To a greater extent than most Westerners believe, they must learn how to look at Africa through African eyes and minds. It is not only imperative for Africans undergoing great personal changes to apply their new knowledge and insights to gain a better understanding of themselves, it is also imperative for other peoples to utilize this knowledge to gain a better insight and understanding of Africans and of themselves in relation to the Africans. In order to understand what is loosely referred to as African neutralism—very perplexing and frustrating to those who view African development naïvely—which will be dealt with in another section of this book, it will be necessary to give more attention to this particular problem than we have heretofore, because it creates serious psychological problems for us, as well as for the Africans. Otherwise, we will be led into the dead end of the pursuit of illusions.

Perhaps the rapid pace of change and development in Africa can be fairly accurately gauged by a recital of a few startling facts:

1. Forty million Africans, more than a fifth of the total population, have moved from primitive villages of the rural areas to the modern cities within the last two decades. Perhaps forty percent of that number, overwhelmingly men, are constantly on the move from their villages to mines, industrial centres, commercial enterprises and the great ports which have resulted from the increasing discovery and development of and reliance upon the mineral resources in Africa by the Western world. A large number of these single men are constantly moving between their home villages and the centres of their work where they stay for brief periods and return again while others take their places. Consequently, the old tribal patterns of control are breaking down. Family structure is seriously disrupted and juvenile delinquency, a phenomenon unknown in the African tribal society, has reached serious proportions in all the large cities. These are obviously, of course, problems of urbanization which will continue as long as Africa develops and forges ahead in changing its economic, political and social structure.

2. American capital investments in Africa have increased since 1945 by nearly 3000%, and this is only the beginning. The fabulous resources of the continent will demand even larger investments in the future to meet the world needs which will be greatly increased by African demands for both capital and consumer goods as their progress moves forward and expands. Even a superficial accounting of the long list of vital and strategic minerals necessary to Western economy which comes out of Africa is enough to explain the continent's new importance, the rapid growth of its commerce and industry and development of its labour supply. But Africa's manpower and hu-

man resources are even more important than its mineral wealth, once it is educated, trained and organized.

3. Most Africans are workers. Therefore, labour unions, which were just beginning a quarter of a century ago, today are very powerful and significant in all areas of free Africa and are of increasing importance even in colonial areas where settlers have control of political and police power. These unions, formed and influenced by the World Federation of Trade Unions, such as the Confederation Generale du Travail, in French-speaking areas, largely leftist and sometimes communist dominated, or by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which are organized along more soundly democratic lines, are bound to play an even more important role in Africa's future development. Wheras a quarter of a century ago less than 5,000 Africans belonged to labour unions, there are today over 1,700 locals.

4. Africans are more and more becoming aware of the wealth which lies in their soil. They know of the growing dependence of the Western world, of the Soviets and the United States in particular on their mineral resources. They are also acutely aware of the fact that this dependence gives them an increased leverage both within the context of the cold war and outside of it.

5. They know that colonialism is either dead or dying and that the sooner it dies, the healthier will be the world situation, including their own. While decolonialism moves faster in some areas than in others, it is doomed by the winds of change in every area of Africa, and sooner or later they know that they themselves will make decisions in all the areas of Africa. Despite the resistance and delaying tactics of a country like Portugal and the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland and South Africa, which are in a somewhat different category, Africans know that the hegemony of Europeans over the Africans in these areas is also doomed and that soner than later new relationships will ultimately have to be worked out in which Africans either are partners or the dominant political force in those

Dr. James H. Robinson Meeting, March 22nd, 1962

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THE HON. LT. COL. J. KEILLER MACKAY MEETING, MARCH 29TH, 1962 countries. The slogan of President Sekou Toure of Guinea, "We prefer independence and poverty to riches in slavery," is deep within the heart and mind of every African in every area of Africa.

6. Twenty-five years ago, there were less than 500 African students studying in European and American Universities. Today, there are almost six times that many in the United States alone, ten times that many in the British Isles, at least eight times that many on the continent of Europe, including the Eastern bloc countries, and at least as many, if not more, in the Middle East and Asia. This new and potential leadership will undoubtedly have a profound effect upon speeding up even more rapidly the miraculous changes taking place in all the areas of Africa. Furthermore, it will also bring increased cross-fertilization of ideas.

7. The material changes each year not only in the cities but increasingly in the rural areas, are stupendous, to say the least. One who travels to Africa every year is greatly impressed by the amazing increase in economic, social, industrial, political, urban and transportation developments over what he witnessed the year before.

The rapid social changes and economic development in Africa are not only inevitable, but they will accelerate in rapidity as time moves on. Neither Africans, nor we ourselves, can hope for or wait for a more leisurely change in these developments. Basic changes in world development will not wait for the readiness of people. This will be as true in Africa as it has ever been in the past in every other nation in the world. To take refuge in the shibboleth that Africans are not ready is sheer folly. To shape a policy on the basis of unreadiness is not only to beg the main point, it is an indulgence in a dangerous fallacy of self-deception. No people are ever fully ready for progress, change and self-government. When the time comes, they either move with it, or time leaves them behind. While some Americans drag their feet arguing about readiness, others say, join us and we will help you to achieve your ambitions. A careful perusal of the early days of American history could prompt the same insidious question in anyone looking objectively at the readiness of America in 1776 for the most dynamic revolution which ever took place in human history. The leaders of the American revolution simply took the tide of history at its flood to lead the nation on to fame and fortune. What we have done, others, including Africans, can surely do also.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. Ernest M. Howse.

"THE BATTLE LINES OF THE 1914-18 WAR REVISITED"

An Address by

THE HON. LT. COL. J. KEILLER MACKAY
Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Ontario

Thursday, March 29th, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Distinguished guests and gentlemen. The Empire Club of Canada is privileged to have as its guest speaker today the representative of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Ontario, the Honourable John Keiller Mackay. In the British Commonwealth the Crown stands not only as a symbol of unity, but as a symbol of the highest ideals of service. The royal family stands as a beacon of service and devoted family life to all the world. This example is reflected in the lives of those throughout the world who represent the Queen in their various spheres, but in none is this devotion to duty and to service better exemplified than in the work of our honoured and distinguished guest today.

Our speaker is distinguished in the law. He has served as Royal Commissioner, later as a Judge of the High Court of Justice and later as Justice of Appeal, Supreme Court of Ontario. He has rendered community service in many organizations, and has served on many governing boards. He is recognized as a great Shakespearean scholar. Yet it is in none of these fields that today's topic will be found. Instead we go back to perhaps a main source of inspiration, to the experiences arising out of the First Great War when many men went to Flanders to face some of the most terrible tests ever known in the history of war. Some of those who returned resolved that they would not forget the sacrifices of those days, or the men who made them, or the things they stood for.

It has been the practice of our distinguished speaker to return to the scenes of 1914–1918 at regular intervals during the forty-four years that have elapsed—I suspect to renew a pact once made with his comrades of long ago.

It is this constancy, this adherence to the principles of loyalty and love which give meaning to life, which constitute the directing force in our speaker's life, and give insight into the meaning of the Biblical injunction that those who lose their lives shall gain them.

We give then a special welcome to The Honourable J. Keiller Mackay who, following his pilgrimage to France, will speak to us on the subject, "THE BATTLE-LINES OF THE 1914–1918 WAR REVISITED". His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.

HON. J. KEILLER MACKAY: Immediately east of the town of Mons in Belgium there is a Military Cemetery, reputed to be one of the most immpressive and dignified in France or Flanders. This Cemetery was opened by the Germans in 1914 and used by the British and Commonwealth in 1918. Here side by side are two memorial stones, one marking the grave of Lieutenant Dease, Royal Irish Fusiliers, killed in action on August 23rd, 1914, and posthumously awarded the first Victoria Cross; the other that of Private G. L. Price of the 28th Battalion, Saskatchewan, killed in action on November 11th, 1918, and in all probability the last Canadian or British soldier killed before Armistice.

Some aspects of the terrible conflict which raged between the making of these two graves is my theme for today.

The Great War of 1914 has passed; the tents have been struck, its mighty armies disbanded, the muster rolls laid away and the camp fires put out; but there is another army which no royal proclamation can reduce, no general orders disband. Last May I visited their camping ground which I have done every ten years since 1918. The white memorial stones that mark their resting place are their tents, the names they bear are their muster rolls, but their camp fires yet burn in our hearts.

It is not my intention to rekindle smoldering embers of international animosities or infame passions or misdirect impulses but rather to awaken in the bosoms of those who do not share our memories a sense of the incalculable loss to society and to the world which this mighty conflict necessarily entailed.

Let us imagine that the Great War of 1914 had broken out one hundred years earlier. The call to arms would have come to a group of men all of military age which included Darwin, Tindall, Huxley and Lister in the world of science; Tennyson, Browning, Matthew Arnold, Dickens, Thackeray and Ruskin in literature; Gladstone, Disraeli, Salisbury, Cobden, Bright and their great contemporaries in politics, and so on in all the other walks of life. What detriment their loss might have meant to the scientific triumphs, the intellectual interests and the general progress and prosperity of the last half of the Victorian era it is difficult even to imagine. What our loss is we shall never know but this we do know and know full well that just as the keennest and best were the first to go so the keenest and best were the first to fall leaving all their potential work for the world undone and their own high hopes unfulfilled; and when twenty-five years later in 1939 another war with its lurid spots and crimson stains called its roll of martyrs the ghastly hiatus in the advancing hosts of humanity is almost beyond mortal comprehension.

The City of Verdun and adjacent area is enshrined forever in the hearts of the people of France and indeed in the hearts of all the Allied nations. Situated on the main thoroughfare from Strassburg and Metz to Paris, Verdun was defended by the great forts of Vaux and Douaumont. For four devastating years the soldiers of France maintained a living wall against one of the greatest onslaughts of the world's then most formidable military power. From August 22nd, 1914, until the hour of the Armistice, there was not a single day that this area was not under determined and devastating bombardment. From February to to July 1916, this field of Vaux and Douaumont withstood the greatest concentration and intensity of offensive attack ever brought to bear on any objective during the years of that terrible war. An area of over twenty five miles on either side of the battleline became a chaotic desert stripped of all vegetation, covered only by corpses torn to pieces and littered with human bones. Over four hundred thousand French soldiers were killed, less than a third of whom were identified. It was here that Marshal Petain used those words familiar and immortal, "they shall not pass."

In the centre of the Douaumont battlefield six miles from Verdun is an Ossuary and Shrine transcendent in solemn grandeur and majestic dignity; indeed a lament in stone and marble, shaped like a gigantic vault four hundred and seventeen feet long with a tower one hundred and fifty feet high at the top of which is a bell weighing two and a half tons, which tolls three times a day. At the very summit of this Tower a great beacon of four revolving lights casts its multi-colored beams over a range of 25 kilometres. On the main floor of the Shrine are thirty-six arches, each with imposing and impressive memorials. The Chapel with stained glass windows of impressive beauty depicts on the Gospel side Christ embracing a soldier, and on the Epistle side the Ascending Christ, on his left a Soldier and on his right a nurse, both being carried to Heaven by the Angels. In the Crypt under the Ossuary are the bones of one hundred and twenty thousand unidentified soldiers. Outside is a cemetery of thirty thousand with areas allotted to Moslem and Jewish dead.

Nearby can be seen a spectacle which should stir the deepest emotions of mankind, the Trench of Bayonets. A Company of French soldiers standing in a trench with bayonets fixed ready to spring to the assault were entombed by the convulsions and violent contortions of the earth brought about by powerful detonations. Here today, forty-six years later these soldiers stand magnificent in death, the bayonets of their rifles still fixed and protruding in a straight line through the earth which covers the mortal remains of those gallant sons of France.

In 1919 President Poincairi invested the entire City of Verdun with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour.

Leaving Verdun and following the Battlelines northwest towards Reims are scores of cemeteries where French, American, German and Italian soldiers are buried. No British or Commonwealth troops served in this sector.

The Cathedral of Reims is justifiably honoured among the cathedrals of the world for its perfect proportions, its architectural beauty and great artistic merits. If has been said that France has been born of an act of Faith on a Battlefield and the Town of Reims was singularly privileged in being the scene of this memorable genesis. Clovis who founded the Monarchy of France in the fifth century vowed that if he were victorious in battle he would become a Christian and being victorious he was baptised on Christmas Day in the year 496. This was the deciding factor in the Cathedral of Reims being chosen as the place of Coronation of the Kings of France. All the Kings of France with few exceptions were anointed and crowned here, the last being Charles X in 1825.

In September 1914 the Cathedral and the City suffered greatly by the German bombardment and invasion. Scarcely a roof in the City was left intact, but happily the walls of the Cathedral were not damaged beyond repair and by a generous gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., the Cathedral has been restored to its former beauty as a gem of architectural and structural excellence.

Not far away is the College Moderne et Technique. Here on the 7th day of May 1945, General Jodl, at that time Commander in Chief of the German Forces, and Admiral Van Friedeberg, Chief of the Admiralty, executed a document of unconditional surrender to the Allies. The table and chairs occupied by the Germans and Allies are in the same position and order as on the day of the capitulation. The Germans were seated so that they could see immediately in front, posted on the wall, a giant chart indicating that between June 6th, 1944, and May 7th, 1945, the number of German soldiers captured by the Allied Forces were 4,035,000 or 161 German Divisions.

Continuing westerly there is at Château Thiery a large American Cemetery and monument of surpassing grandeur; and nearby can be seen the old trenches where the Americans fought with dauntless valour in what was really their baptism of fire in the summer of 1918.

Crossing the Marne and the Aisne we traversed the sites of the Battle of the Marne which commenced on the 6th day of September, 1914. It will be remembered that the German armies on the 2nd of September, 1914, reached a point twelve miles from the easterly outskirts of Paris, and their Commander Von Kluck, attempting to execute an encircling manoeuvre to the south west, violated a well-known principle in military strategy "never to expose a flank to an undefeated army". General Joffre was not slow to appreciate the opportunity and threw all his forces, including the British Expeditionary Force of seven divisions and General Gallienne's Garrison of Paris, transported to the battlelines by 2000 taxi cabs, upon the German flank. Von Kluck realizing his untenable position retreated some 30 miles across the Marne to a line along the Aisne from south of Arras, through Albert, Chemin des Dames, Soissons and Reims, where they remained for over three years.

Here I pause to cite an engagement which will live forever in military history.

On the night of August 31st-September 1st, 1914—the 2nd and 4th Cavalry Brigade and L. Battery, R.H.A. during the great retreat from Mons bivouacked in a village called Nery, between the Forest of Compiegne and the Marne. At daybreak Lieutenant Tailby, when on patrol, was surprised by the approach of German Cavalry which proved to be six regiments supported by two 6-gun batteries of horse artillery. He had scarcely time to gallop back to warn his brigade before shot and shell began to fly thickly into the village. L. Battery was parked in an orchard, unhappily in a position where because of the physical features of the ground, only three guns could be brought into action. The German artillery concentrated their fire on this Battery. Two guns received direct hits, but the third continued its fire. Captain Bradbury, Officer Commanding, received a direct hit which cut off his right leg. He propped himself against a limber wheel and continued to direct the fire until he dropped dead. All the Officers were either killed or wounded and Sergeant-Major Dorrell together with Sergeant Nelson and the gun layer, carried on this unequal and preposterous duel against twelve guns of the enemy.

The Cavalry dismounted and under cover brought heavy machine-gun fire on the German cavalry and guns who beat a hasty retreat abandoning eight of their twelve guns and a maxim. The 11th Hussars who had come up in the meantime pursued the enemy, capturing fifty horses and a number of prisoners. The whole affair lasted little over an hour. L. Battery lost seven Officers and only three men of the entire unit emerged unwounded.

It is at least satisfying to know that the last shot in that unequal duel was fired at the backs of the retreating Germans by that one gun of L. Battery still in action. Captain Bradbury, Sergeant-Major Dorrell and Sergeant Nelson were awarded the Victoria Cross, the former posthumously.

When you are next in London try to find time to visit the British Museum where you will see that blood-stained, broken gun preserved as a lasting tribute to the invincible valour of the officers and men of L. Battery R.H.A.

Nearby is the Wood of Compiegne. Here from a railway car, General Foch dictated Armistice terms to the German representatives in 1918; and in the same car in 1940 Hitler dictated terms to that part of France represented by Marshal Petain.

Proceeding along Chemin des Dames the scene of bitter fighting during the greater part of the war, thence to Peronne, Bapaume and the Somme. The great Somme offensive commenced July 1st, 1916, and continued until the first week of December of that year, during which time the British and Commonwealth Armies gained not more than ten miles at a cost of well over half a million killed. At Thiepvale, near Courcelette, there is inscribed on one majestic memorial the names of 73,000 British and Commonwealth soldiers killed during the Battle of the Somme who have no known graves. There are over sixty British and Commonwealth Cemeteries in this area in which more than 20,000 memorial stones bear the insignia of the Maple Leaf. Here at the opening of the Somme Battle the Newfoundland Division fought with great valour, sustaining heavy losses. A magnificent monument and park is dedicated to their memory.

The names of Contalmaison, La Boiselle, Poziers, Courcelette, Thiepvale, Mokie Farm, Delville Wood in the area of the Somme will be remembered with solemn pride throughout succeeding generations of Canadians and recorded in the annals of high military achievement.

Thence to Arras, Vimy Ridge (with its stately Canadian Memorial which is well known to the Canadian people), Notre Dame de Lorette where a second French Shrine of touching grandeur and solemn beauty stands as if on guard in the midst of a cemetery of 46,000 French graves. At La Targette and Auritz there are many Canadian cemeteries and one German cemetery of 59,000. At Loos there is a magnificent memorial to the memory of 10,000 Scots who were killed on the morning of 25th of September, 1915.

Thence northerly past an impressive memorial erected to the memory of Indian troops to Festubert, La Basse, Givenchy, Mount Sorrel, Messines, Ploegstreet, Armentiers into Belgium, Wulverghem, Mount Kemmel, St. Eloi, Voormezeele, Dickebusche, the Ypres Salient, Sanctuary Wood and Hooge. At Hooge, the eastern point or apex of the Ypres Salient, several acres are fenced off and retained much as it was in 1918. For a few francs admission one can see the old trenches, machine guns still in their emplacements, trench mortars, minnawhiffers, exploded shells; Mills bombs and grenades and all the then paraphenalia of cruel and ruthless trench warfare. At the admission house are hundreds of pictures taken during the war years of those trenches in all their naked horror.

Thence to Zonnebeke, Zillibeke, Hell Fire Corner, Paschendaele, St. Julien, Langemark and Ypres.

The battle of Messine Ridge began on June 7th, 1917, and ended at Passchendaele about the middle of November. At first this battle attained considerable success but finally resolved itself into a campaign rather than a battle. As early as the last of September further advance in that sector was bogged down and was greatly impeded by autumn rains. I have not the power of speech to express the indescribable horror and utter futility of the Campaign. So fruitless in its results, so depressing in its direction, the very name "Paschendaele" has become a synonym for military ineptitude and barrenness.

At St. Julien, the scene of the first gas attack, where the Canadians won immortal glory on April 21, 22, 23, 1915, there is a memorial of stately grandeur set amidst towering evergreens. Is it too much to say that as long as memory holds a seat in this distracted globe the story of the dauntless courage and invincible valour of Canadian arms in the midst of asphyxiating gas in the Second Battle of Ypres will be told with moving emotion and legitimate pride.

In the Town of Ypres the Great Cloth Hall and stately Cathedral, as well as every other building, were razed to the ground. Here stands the majestic Menin Gate Memorial bearing the names of 55,000 killed in the Salient who have no known graves, over 10,000 of whom are Canadians. Within a few kilometres of Ypres over 1,000,000 died. In this area alone there are 137 military cemeteries.

On the evening of May 2nd last year, along with my wife and two sons who accompanied me on this high and inspiring pilgrimage, I presented under the silent majesty of the Menin Gate to the Burgermaster of Ypres and to the Chairman of the Last Post Fund, on behalf of Colonel E. C. Lancaster of St. Catharines, two silver trumpets. This presentation was made in the presence of a vast concourse of the people of Ypres and military representatives from Great Britain, France and Canada. When at nightfall four trumpeters sounded the Last Post the solemn grandeur of the moment, the rushing waves of sentiment and the flowing tide of stirring memories almost overwhelmed me. Once again I saw the forces of Great Britain, of the Dominions and of Belgium, yea and gallant France, hurl themselves with invincible valour on the advancing or retreating foe. Once again I saw the blood of France, Belgium, the British stream on the same field. In those myriad graves their bodies were deposited. The rain and the dew now fall from heaven upon their union in the tomb and the green corn of spring has broken forty-six times from their commingled dust. Yea, every hill and valley that invests that long line from Soissons to the North Sea is sacred as a battleground of Canada, consecrated by those who fought and doubly consecrated and hallowed by those who fell; rich with memories of brave and heroic youth, speaking an eloquent witness to the matchless valour of their hearts, the deathless glory of their

Arms and the indissoluable union and imperishable brotherhood of our people.

To these memorials and monuments we should send our children's children to reverence the names and memory of those who enobled Canada and her history by the shedding of their precious blood, and may the Omnipotent God forget us if we forget them.

> "Nor shall their glory be forgot
> While fame her record keeps;
> Or honour points the hallowed spot
> Where valour proudly sleeps."

But when the plaintiff strains of the Last Post have faded in the distance there are the challenging notes of reveille. The scene before me passes and I catch a vision of a mighty army with banners, and as that army of the dead sweep by, I hear a great chorus not of grief but of life and joy and exaltation. Our fallen comrades, if they should speak to us, would bid us think of life, not death—life to which they gave the beauty, the valour and the glory of spring—and beyond that awe-inspiring orchestra of seen and unseen powers, and destinies yet unrevealed, our trumpets sound forth a reassuring note of daring, hope and will.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lt. Col. Bruce J. Legge.

"THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH'S SECOND COMMONWEALTH STUDY CONFERENCE"

An Address by

W. M. VACY ASH
Chairman, Shell Oil Company of Canada
Vice Chairman, H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh's Second Commonwealth Study Conference Canada 1962

Thursday, April 5th, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Distinguished guests and gentlemen. In 1956, in Oxford, England, a Commonwealth Study Conference was held, having as its theme the human consequences of the changing industrial environment. His Royal Highness Prince Philip inspired the Oxford sessions and served as Conference President.

The 29 Canadians who attended the 1956 conference felt they and their colleagues had derived so much benefit that a second conference of the kind should be held, preferably in Canada. The idea was put to Prince Philip, who met with a provisional committee during the royal tour of Canada in 1959 and agreed to accept the presidency. Yesterday's papers carried the itinerary which Prince Philip will follow on his arrival in Canada on the 13th of May.

Two Canadians among others have been prominent in this undertaking. The chairman of The Duke of Edinburgh's Second Commonwealth Study Conference is The Right Honourable Vincent Massey, and our speaker today, Mr. Vacy Ash, is Vice Chairman of this Committee.

Mr. Ash has had a distinguished career both in the oil industry and in service to the public. He became president of Shell of Canada in 1948, and on January 1st, 1962, became chairman of the board. Mr. Ash is a past president of The Ontario Safety League and past chairman of The Canadian Highways Safety Council. He is a member of the board of governors of the University of Toronto. As president of The St. Andrew's Society of Toronto Mr. Ash carried out eminently satisfactory arrangements for a joint meeting of that Society and The Empire Club of Canada on the 30th of November last.

We are pleased today to be able to present on the eve of the Second Commonwealth Conference the Vice Chairman of the Canadian Committee, Mr. W. M. Vacy Ash, who will speak on the subject, "THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH'S SECOND COMMONWEALTH STUDY CONFERENCE."

MR. ASH: Fellow members of The Empire Club. Next Monday Mr. Gordon Hawkins and I shall be making a final progress report to Prince Philip at Windsor Castle in connection with his Commonwealth Study Conference to be held in Canada May and June this year. My remarks to you today are to some extent a preview of what we shall be reporting next week. For your benefit, however, I think I should sketch in some of the historical background for the Canadian Conference.

In 1956 there took place at Oxford an experiment quite appropriate to that city of a split personality. I say split personality because my old University is harboured, not only amidst the dreaming spires of its colleges, but side by side with one of Britain's greatest industries, the Morris Motor Works. And I said appropriate because surely a conference to study the human consequences of industrialization could not be held more fittingly than in a city combining the creation of ideas, even dreams, alongside the manufacture of automobiles?

Sceptics there were, of course, some of them Canadian. None remained at the end. And it was the Canadians who decided that the experience should be offered again and in Canada. It is these Canadians, the graduates of the 1956

Conference in Oxford, to whom the credit is due for the idea of a second Conference in Canada in 1962.

At a meeting at Rideau Hall in the spring of 1959 under the chairmanship of the Governor General Mr. Vincent Massey, some of these Canadian members of the 1956 Oxford Conference spoke eloquently of what it had done for them, and of their hope that Canada should host another. They must have spoken eloquently because the meeting unanimously resolved to recommend it to Prince Philip. On his visit to Canada with Her Majesty a short while later, to open the St. Lawrence Seaway, Prince Philip called a meeting on the yacht *Britannia* at which he took over the presidency, Vincent Massey the chairmanship, I the vice chairmanship, Eddie Taylor the treasury and the raising of funds, and the council, steering and other committees were formed as outlined in the paper each of you has.

At the same meeting Mr. Gordon Hawkins, formerly director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, and for the past six years chairman of the public affairs discussion panel of the CBC, was appointed full-time salaried executive director of the conference. Under Hawkins' direction steady progress has been maintained, the headquarters staff of the conference has gradually been assembled and now numbers thirteen. In a recent interview a press reporter asked me (rather pityingly I thought) when we showed him the headquarters offices of the conference —what *I* did around there? I suppose you might call me the operating vice president—at any rate it seemed a great convenience both to Hawkins and myself to establish the offices of the conference in the Shell Building. This makes consultation easy. An additional advantage is my availability for cheque signing!

The headquarters staff, in addition to secretaries, consists of a public relations officer, a programme and documents officer, a conference members secretary, and a study tours officer. This is paralleled in the committee setup of the conference which consists of a study tours committee, a conference members committee, a public relations committee, a programme and documents committee and a conference organization committee. The work of these committees is coordinated by the steering committee. This is really the government—or better the cabinet—of the conference. Its membership—and the membership of the other operating committees—is outlined in the paper before you. The only thing I would like to add is that these names are drawn from both Canadian management and labour—in other words, labour and management in Canada working together on this as a joint project.

You can get some idea of the burden of work which has fallen upon the committees and above all the conference staff if I tell you how the conference itself will be organized. First of all, the 300 delegates will be in Canada three and a half weeks—from May 14th to June 7th. The cost of their travel *to* Canada is borne by their company or trade union but all costs within Canada are borne by the conference. It is worth stressing at this point, and I shall refer to it again later, that the word delegates should not be misconstrued as meaning that these men and women in any way represent anything other than themselves—they come as individuals and speak as individuals—and not for one moment as representing the company or union from which they were selected. More of the process of selection later.

Before I leave the question of cost—the target budget for the whole operation is now $700,000. This has not yet been raised 100 per cent but we are getting close, and Eddie Taylor who is a man of great confidence has assured us we can count on the total sum required.

The 300 delegates come to Canada from every part of the Commonwealth and Empire. By far the majority will be under forty years of age. In other words we are trying to reach the younger men and women who are on the threshold, you might say, of major executive work in their company or union. Roughly one-third of the delegates are drawn from labour and two-thirds from management. The only country of the Commonwealth and Empire, as we have thought of it for so many years, that will not be represented and that was represented at Oxford is South Africa. A facet, of course, of the much larger issue of her having quit the Commonwealth.

Some of the highlights of the different delegations, to mention only a few, are Canada with some seventy-five representatives, the United Kingdom with forty, Australia thirty, India fifteen, Jamaica four, and even including St. Kitts with one representative! Altogether we expect thirty-one countries to be represented. The delegations from each country were chosen by a selection committee in that country and in some cases, notably certain countries in the Indian Ocean and in Africa, it was necessary for the executive director of the conference to pay a visit to the country concerned. It might interest you also to know that in Canada the conference members committee under Bill Bennett of the Iron Ore Company considered 500 names before arriving at the seventy-five mentioned above.

I think you will have gathered from the countries I have cited what a diverse group we expected to have. By way of illustration, an Arab from Eden conferring alongside an Indian, a Pakistani or a Briton. You can imagine that even the matter of diet has had to receive detailed attention.

The actual work of the conference falls into five main chapters. These are the three days opening sessions on the campuses of McGill and Montreal Universities plus a day's visit to Ottawa, to see our Parliamentary system at work, study tours lasting approximately a week of various eastern industrial communities by study groups of fifteen each, two days' sessions at the University of Toronto considering Canada's communications problems, followed by a tour across Canada by special train lasting about a week, and finishing at Vancouver for the closing sessions on the campus of UBC.

It might interest you to hear of these chapters in a little more detail. First the opening sessions at McGill. All delegates will come prepared with background and working papers—at least we hope they will have prepared themselves by the necessary reading! These have been the responsibility of the programme and documents committee and of the programme and documents officer at conference headquarters. They consist of working papers on the following features of Canadian life: the family, youth problems, the older worker and minority groups, and background papers dealing with civic participation, town planning and housing, recreation and leisure, welfare, education and industrialization, all in the Canadian context.

The opening sessions themselves will consist of getting acquainted, getting organized into the study groups of fifteen which remain as group entities throughout the programme all the way to Vancouver, and of listening to the three opening addresses—from Prince Philip himself, from Mr. Vincent Massey, and from Doctor Arthur Lewis, the principal of the University of the West Indies. Prince Philip's address (written by himself—no ghost writers) will deal with the philosophy of the conference as a whole. Mr. Vincent Massey will speak of Canada as host country to the conference. Finally, Doctor Lewis will speak from the standpoint of the Commonwealth at large.

Following these sessions and the day's visit to Ottawa, the whole conference returns to Montreal for a day's plenary session on French Canada. The session will be started off by a paper delivered by Mr. Marcel Faribault, president of The General Trust Company of Canada, on some aspects of the human consequences of industrialization in Quebec. This will be followed by a breakup of the conference into discussion groups, the same units of about fifteen that were formed earlier and will persist throughout the conference, each led in this case by a French Canadian and discussing each a different aspect of French Canadian life. The organizers of the conference are naturally anxious to bring home to the delegates from abroad the bicultural and bilingual nature of Canada—our unique and dual heritage.

The study groups then disperse to a number of industrial communities in Eastern Canada for a week's study at first hand of the human consequences of industrialization—the basic purpose of the conference. The communities to be visited are: Arvida—Chicoutimi—Lake St. John; Brantford; Cornwall—Iroquois—Brockville; Drummondville—Victoriaville—Ste. Hyacinthe; Quebec City—Levis—Lauzon—Montmorency—Ste. Foy; Grand Falls—Buchans—Exploits Valley; Timmins—Kirkland Lake—Rouyn—Noranda—Cobalt; Deep River—Wallaceburg; Kitchener—Waterloo—Stratford; Montreal; Oshawa; Peterborough—Bancroft; Toronto—Owen Sound; Sarnia—Point Edward; Trois Rivieres—Cap-de-la-Madeleine; Sault Ste. Marie—Wawa; Wabana—Gander—Happy

Valley—Northwest River; Sept-Iles—Schefferville—Labrador City—Port Cartier; Shawinigan—Grand'Mere; Sydney—Glace Bay—Port Hawkesbury—Springhill.

The study groups will be accompanied in their travels by a study group secretary in each case so that impressions and reports can be reduced to writing with the minimum of delay, literally "on the move". The study group chairmen are all Canadians and were selected by the conference members committee as part of Canada's total delegation of seventy-five which I have mentioned. These group chairmen have already attended a weekend's briefing session in Toronto where it was my great pleasure to meet with them and have dinner with them, and to realize how proud we can be of these young Canadian executives who will perform such a key role in the conference. Further briefing sessions will be held before the conference. Each study group chairman will have visited and thoroughly studied the local communities with which he is involved before the conference begins. Many have already done so.

It is hardly necessary for me to tell you who know Canada the details of what will be studied in each community. I would like to say however that the organizers of the conference have all felt that the delegates should see our mistakes as well as our achievements. The communities have been very carefully selected. In addition to the study groups' chairmen's visits which I have already mentioned, several visits have been paid by the responsible members of our headquarters staff to ensure that the local organization for the reception of the delegates has been perfected. Enthusiastic local committees have formed themselves in each community and have done a tremendous lot of work in organizing the programme for each study group. Nor are these tours to be merely of a social character. Receptions, cocktail parties and the like are not part of the programme. It *is* part of the programme that the study groups should meet the local citizens and be exposed to a thorough view of the local scene in each community. In twos and threes they will meet and be entertained by local families at each point, with ample opportunity to see and discuss informally our Canadian way of life.

From the study tours all delegates proceed to Toronto for the plenary sessions on the University of Toronto campus. It was thought by the organizers of the conference that the very size of Canada made it imperative to devote a special session to Canada's transportation problems. This will be the theme at Toronto. As at McGill and UBC all delegates will live in residences on the campus. The Toronto sessions will be led off by a lecture on the development and significance of the main forms of transportation in the growth of Canada by Professor Donald Creighton of the University of Toronto. There will also be a commentary aided by film and Kinescope demonstrating changes in transportation techniques and their effects upon the community. I will speak later about that important new arrival on the Canadian transportation scene—the pipe line.

After Toronto another of the uniquely Canadian features of the conference, and one which differentiates it from Oxford begins. The 300 delegates are divided into two groups and leave for the west by two special trains. One train will follow the Canadian Pacific and the other the Canadian National route to the west. The Canadian Pacific group will make a stop at Schreiber and the Canadian National group a stop at Hornepayne to study typical railroad communities. As in the study tours of eastern industrial communities the delegates will have the opportunity mostly in pairs of visiting individual families in these railroad towns. Back on the trains discussion takes place en route in assigned club cars and drawing rooms. An interesting feature is that a librarian and library of books on Canada will be provided on each train.

On arrival at Winnipeg there is some time for relaxation followed by a presentation under the direction of the CPR on some of the human problems caused by current costs, competition, and technical advances in transportation. Then a presentation by the CNR of some case histories dealing with specific railway communities. There will also be a dramatized presentation of a hearing before the Board of Transport Commissioners.

Later the same day at Winnipeg there is a programme on the positions and problems of organized labour on the Canadian industrial scene presented by officers of the Canadian Labour Congress and the Confederation of National Trade Unions. This is roughly the halfway point in the conference programme and seemed to be a suitable time and context in which to consider trade unionism in Canada.

The trains continue in the following days into Saskatchewan where plenary sessions are held at the University on the agricultural and industrial development of the province, a presentation of changing farm communities, the impact of industry on small communities in Saskatchewan and also problems of the northern development of the province.

From all of the foregoing you will see that our visitors face quite a rigorous schedule. I've even heard it suggested that after three and a half weeks in Canada they will need at least three and a half months to recover! Looking through the schedule one is struck by breakfast regularly at 7.30 in the morning with sessions starting at 9 a.m., and so on. However, there *are* some provisions for relaxation. Time is provided, for instance, for a visit to Niagara Falls. There is some time off at Banff and Jasper and every delegate is to be entertained for an afternoon and evening by a farm family in Saskatchewan.

Agriculture is something that was not covered at Oxford but you will agree that our visitors would leave Canada with an incomplete picture unless agriculture and modern industrialization of agriculture was also studied. On going on to Alberta they will have an opportunity to see what has been literally a revolution there—namely the discovery of oil and gas in what had formerly been a predominantly agricultural economy.

Here too they will see at first hand one of the major developments about which they will have heard in the earlier transportation sessions, and which I as an oilman am naturally keen that they should see, namely the degree—not always fully realized, even by Canadians—to which the last decade has matched in the construction of pipe lines (literally the new prime mover of industry today) the great periods of railroad building in Canada's past.

Finally the closing sessions at Vancouver, in addition to a view of the western community and industrial scene (for instance, a visit to the large Oakridge shopping centre and a cruise of the port of Vancouver—one of the great harbours of the world), will be devoted to reporting and taking stock. Each study group will make a ten minute presentation to the whole conference on the community or region visited, at the outset, on its study tour of eastern industry. This will be followed by a consolidation of the findings of the conference as a whole. We visualize that a number of commissions will be set up, each being concerned with one of the following, which you will remember were the subjects of the working papers mentioned earlier: the older worker, the family, the young adult worker, the immigrant and the minority group. Also such community subjects as civic participation, town planning and housing, recreation and leisure, civic welfare, education and industrialization.

Prince Philip will speak again, this time in effect summarizing, or one might say keynoting, the experiences of the several delegates. I would like to stress that this will not be an "industrial relations conference" in any sense, and will not touch upon such things as wages, hours of work, and collective bargaining, which are obviously so diverse from one part of the Commonwealth to another as to rule out useful discussions. Rather the focus will be upon the impact of industrialization on people and upon the communities in which they live—people in the whole range of industrial employment, workers and managers alike, along with their families and all the members of the community affected directly or indirectly by industrialization.

Prince Philip puts it: "The conference is purely intended to influence those who attend it in such a way that when they get to a position of authority, the decisions that they make will be based on a reasonable understanding of the consequences." Remember what I said earlier—that these are men and women on the threshold of executive appointment.

An unplanned, spontaneous, but highly important product of the conference, which we are confident we can expect from the experience of the Oxford conference, is the corporate, club or team spirit which it develops. For instance the graduates of the Oxford conference have kept in close touch with each other during the last few years, not only the delegates within each country—but from one country to another. Prince Philip has had reunions with these graduates, as I like to call them, in the countries which he has visited on his Commonwealth travels. The Oxford conference headquarters has kept up a "where's who" of the delegates to the earlier conference so that all are apprized of the progress and fortunes of their fellows. We at conference headquarters in Canada intend of course to maintain these traditions. I would like to say how much the Canadian graduates of the Oxford conference have helped us in how many ways. I personally have greatly enjoyed the dinners I have held from time to time to meet with these men, report progress to them and seek their advice.

Last but perhaps most significantly, I would like to stress again what I said earlier, that the conference members, although stemming from a company or a union, are not at the conference as representatives of that company or union but as individuals. As individuals they will come from the developed as well as the emergent countries of the Commonwealth. In all these countries, in dealing with the human problems of industrialization, in the famous words of Canning on government, "Men not measures are everything." We believe with Prince Philip that these men will return to their countries, whether or not on the brink of industrialization, the better equipped, as individuals, for their experiences in Canada. Even the president himself, Prince Philip, will not be here in a representative capacity but as an individual, in fact as the leader of the conference. And believe me, not the least of the experiences of those who attend will be their exposure to the personality of Prince Philip. This is a man who would have been a leader in whatever sphere fate had cast him.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lt. Gen. H. D. Graham.

"BUILD INDUSTRY— BUILD CANADA"

An Address by

F. D. MATHERS
President, Canadian Manufacturers' Association

Thursday, April 12th, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

DR. PHIMISTER: Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. On Tuesday night last the Minister of Finance, Mr. Donald Fleming, brought down his budget in the Commons. Our press in the last two days has been carrying much comment about what effect the budget would have upon business. As our speaker today we have Mr. Fred D. Mathers who, as president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, is well qualified to assess the impact of the proposed fiscal policies upon the business community. We are fortunate indeed to have Mr. Mathers with us at this particular time.

Mr. Mathers is president of Royal City Foods Ltd. and Delnor Frozen Foods, Ltd., New Westminster, B.C. He received his schooling in the public and high schools in Vancouver, and at Edinburgh University and McGill.

Mr. Mathers was Administrator, Processed Fruit and Vegetables, Wartime Prices and Trade Board, 1942–45; Past Commissioner, International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission. He has served as President of three organizations, which I should like to mention, viz., Canned Foods Association of B. C., Canadian Food Processors Association, and New Westminster Board of Trade.

Mr. Mathers enlisted in Queen's University 46th Battery in 1915, served in France and was promoted to Lieutenant in the field. He served in the Second World War, Reserve Artillery, Ottawa, 1942–45, as Captain, 33rd Field Regiment, R.C.A.

Mr. Mathers pilots his own private plane, and this has enabled him to move about in Canada to visit many cities during the course of the last few years. We welcome him here in his own right and as President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and we look forward to hearing his speak now on the subject, "BUILD INDUSTRY—BUILD CANADA."

MR. MATHERS: The nation-wide organization of which I have the honour to be president has chosen a most important economic exhortation as the slogan for its annual meeting this year. I decided, when I received the kind invitation from your officers to address this great Club here in Toronto today, to steal a march on my colleagues and use the same slogan as the title for my remarks. I hope that, when I have finished speaking, you will agree with me that "Build Industry—Build Canada" is a suggestion that makes the ultimate in common sense.

Now that we are entering the second quarter of 1962, it is quite apparent that the Canadian economy continues to show considerable strength. The winter that has just passed saw much less unemployment—both seasonal and non-seasonal—than was the case in the preceding two or three years, which is something we can all be glad about. What's more, at this point there is every reason to expect that the gross national product in 1962 will show its biggest real jump in several years. On the surface, then, the immediate economic picture is quite a cheerful one.

Significantly, the improvement in the employment figures reflects busier factories. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics has noted that strength in the manufacturing sector of the economy is largely responsible for the decline in the number of those without jobs.

Does this current upsurge mean that we have mastered those chronic problems that have so sorely beset us in recent years? It would be pleasant to think so, but I do not for one moment believe that we dare risk any such assumption.

The truth is that the present upturn, encouraging as it is, is not so deep-seated or fundamental as to provide real insurance much beyond the present year. What we are witnessing is in fact the normal operation of the business cycle and, because this is true, the current upturn may well prove temporary and taper off.

Meanwhile, in the greater world of which we are but a part, economic developments of enormous and far-reaching significance are unfolding. The most important of these is the resurgence of Europe and the breath-taking strides towards Old World unity which has followed the ending of the Second World War and the disintegration of colonial empires. This has now reached the point where, for the first time in fifty years, it is Europe rather than North America which is calling the economic tune.

In the course of this explosive half century and through two world wars, it was the political and economic decisions of the U.S.A. which were decisive in terms of the consequences for good or ill on Europe. Within the past decade, however, there has been a gradual but increasingly perceptibe turnabout until today when it is North America which is reacting to economic decisions made in Europe.

Evidence of this was to be found in the fact that the two North American business recessions of the past half dozen years had no appreciable effect on Europe's boom, galvanized as it was by the formation and subsequent success of the European Economic Community. It is even more apparent in two recent developments.

The first was the decision of Washington and Ottawa to join with the eighteen European O.E.E.C. members in the establishment of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, which had its inaugural meeting just six months ago under the chairmanship of our own Minister of Finance, Mr. Donald Fleming. The O.E.C.D., as you know, has evolved from the old Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

The second and probably more important development was the recent decision of President Kennedy to seek from Congress rather far-reaching powers to lower traditional

U.S. tariff barriers and negotiate reciprocal arrangements with Western Europe and other nations.

As to the second development, nobody can say how co-operative Congress is going to be in this a U.S. election year. But there can be no doubt that, if the President does get most of his way, the ensuing liberalization of world trade will have truly tremendous implications for Canada.

Where does this leave us? It is tempting perhaps—and certainly easy—for Canadians to welcome the prospect of freer trade between the free nations. Unfortunately for us, however, Canada, of all the leading industrial powers of the west, is the one most liable to be hurt by any programme of systematic tariff reductions. As it is, our tariffs in general are far from being the highest maintained by member nations of the O.E.C.D., and any scaling down would assuredly call into question the ability of many a Canadian manufacturing concern to even survive, much less prosper, if comparable foreign-made products from low wage, mass production countries, and most notably from our mighty neighbour to the south from whom we already do two-thirds of our buying, are to be allowed to flood the limited Canadian market.

With manufacturing industry directly employing one in four of the working population and indirectly supporting a great many more Canadians working in various service and other industries, no one need doubt that the effect on the national economy of any exceptional close-down of our factories would be dire indeed. It is no use pretending that, even if U.S. tariffs against Canadian-made manufactured goods were greatly reduced or even completely eliminated, our manufacturing industry would be sitting pretty in relation to the U.S. market. It would not. Like it or not, we cannot escape the fact that the largest Canadian manufacturing concerns are for the most part U.S. subsidiaries, one of whose main reasons for coming here in the first place was the existence of Commonwealth preferential tariffs.

They were certainly never established in order to compete with the parent company inside the U.S. market itself and it is hardly reasonable to expect that they would be kept in being for any such purpose.

President Kennedy, of course, has recognized that some U.S. industries will be badly hurt by tariff reduction and, by way of compensation, proposes various incentives and other measures designed to prevent extensive unemployment. In the event that Canada becomes a party to tariff cutting, it seems obvious that Ottawa will be obliged to come up with some similar plan.

Be that as it may, the inescapable truth of the matter is that, for the most part, the unit cost factor and low volume runs inherent in production within the confines of a limited domestic market—and a highly scattered one, at that!—plus our insistence as a people on a high standard of living, have already created a most serious cost-price problem for Canadian industry in relation to its foreign competition.

It is no exaggeration, I think, to say that our national tariff structure has been the most important single factor in the development of manufacturing industry to the point where it is the nation's leading industry, the largest productive employer, the greatest wealth producer and the biggest taxpayer.

As a people, we have for some time past pre-empted a standard of living about thirty years ahead of our time and, to speak bluntly, at this stage of our national development I cannot see how we can possibly hope to maintain it without adequate tariffs to enable our industries to compete with some degree of equality of opportunity in their most important market, the domestic market.

I don't believe that such things as subsidies from the general pool of taxation would be desirable or acceptable on anything other than a stop-gap basis.

Subsidies and similar alternatives to tariffs would all unquestionably be industrially disruptive and nationally divisive, because they would necessarily entail planners at the highest level making decisions as to which industry should get how much, and the like.

We have, I believe, already moved quite far enough in this direction, most notably in the field of agriculture. Extending this policy to various manufacturing industries, whatever yardstick be used, would foreshadow a degree of government control and intervention incompatible with the workings of the free market economy.

I know that there are influential Canadians who argue in favour of specialization, by which they mean that we should, as a matter of national policy, apply ourselves to the gradual elimination of certain of our industries. Replacing tariffs with subsidies would clearly facilitate such a policy, and I suspect that this will be the line taken by those who, out of a misguided sense of idealism and internationalism, may propose the dismantling of our national tariff structure.

Superficially, this specialization argument—this plan to make us a North American Sweden or Switzerland—may seem to make a lot of sense. In actuality, I can think of no more regressive step for Canada. We are not Sweden and we are not Switzerland. We are a vast nation in area, in potentiality of our natural resources, in everything except, at this time, a population to match.

But small as our population is in relation to our other assets, it grows, not nearly as fast as it should or as fast as we would like it to do, yet still it grows. It comes close to having doubled in the last thirty years and may well double in the next thirty and again in the thirty after that. Why should it not? Unlike the Swedens and the Switzerlands some people would have us become, we are able to support a population many times larger than theirs. Nothing is more certain than that one day we shall do so.

So let us be wary then of the siren voices that, for whatever apparent good reason, would have us embrace holus-bolus a policy of industrial contraction. There is no greatness for Canada in such a policy and little future either. Indeed, if we want to return to the frontier economy of sixty years ago, I can think of no more likely road to take than that of deliberately and systematically destroying established industries whose difficulties are in the main attributable to a limited domestic market.

Surely, it is the beginning of wisdom to pursue national policies aimed at creating a viable economic climate for manufacturing industry in toto. This is the road to growth and greatness, not by killing off industries, which may be weak only because the national population at the moment is small, and salving our conscience with shabby handouts which are the precursor of industrial suffocation.

There is, of course, yet another way out of this whole problem. It is one which has long been open to us and just as long been rejected by us—that of voluntarily throwing overboard our national identity and becoming absorbed in the mighty United States of America. I do not know if the minority of Canadians favouring this course is any larger now that it ever was, but I am quite sure of one thing—those holding this view are very definitely still an inconsequential minority. Notwithstanding the high admiration in which we hold our close friend and ally and regardless of any possible advantage which might accrue, most of us Canadians, even in this day and age, have no wish to see Canada drop like a ripe plum into the melting pot of American union.

Our separate identity, our political and judicial system and all the other traditional and evolving symbols which distinguish us from our cousins to the south are even more important to us than the many things we rejoice to have in common with them. Such, at any rate, is my belief.

Rejecting these alternatives, the only policy that makes any sense in terms of a secure and prosperous future for Canada is one that accords the highest priority to the further expansion and diversification of manufacturing industry.

Despite the impressive progress of recent years, we remain economically vulnerable for having failed to develop nearly enough industries manufacturing end products. Too high a proportion of our plants deal in raw and semi-processed products. Important as this kind of extractive activity is to the nation's well-being, of its very nature it is not nearly as labour-intensive as end product manufacturing and distribution. More of this kind of manufacturing is what we must have if we are to provide the right kind of employment for the hordes of Second World War babies who will be leaving school and entering the labour market in the next few years.

Manufacturing industry has been told that, as an absolute minimum, it will have to find new jobs for an estimated one million of these new entrants into the labour force between now and 1980. I tell you quite frankly I see no prospect of us doing so unless the emphasis of our national policies shifts more decisively in the direction of unequivocal recognition of manufacturing as the bulwark of the economy.

I am happy to acknowledge that there have been definite signs that we are in the early stages of such a shift in emphasis. The discounting of the Canadian dollar some ten months ago, some extra capital cost allowances, export credits, minor tax concessions to small companies—all these things were distinctly helpful. More recently, we have had the announcement of proposals aimed at promoting increased research in Canada, something we in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association have strongly urged. The National Productivity Council and the brand-new Economic Council just established here in Ontario are further evidence of governmental concern with the health of manufacturing industry and our ability to compete at home and abroad.

These things in themselves are encouraging, yet they are but no more than first steps along the road we must travel in the stimulation of industrial investment and expansion.

Taxation and immigration policies, however, offer the greatest incentive to such investment and development but, unfortunately, our performance in both these all-important fields has been disappointing.

The taxation burden in the shape of a federal government take of roughly 50 per cent of profits is onerous to the point of being oppressive. Huge sums of what would otherwise be productive capital are lost to industry each year and reinvestment of earnings in new plant and new jobs is inevitably retarded.

The proportion of national income going into taxation of all kinds rises inexorably and, even more significant, the rate at which it has been rising in recent decades is accelerating ever more sharply. Thus, whereas in 1939 one-fifth of national income was gobbled up by the tax collector, the proportion today is one-third. Between 1950 and 1960 alone, federal government spending actually trebled.

Of course, it is said that the national income is also rising. True, but, unfortunately for us, it is not rising nearly so fast as taxation and in this same decade—1950 to 1960—it did not even double.

The effect of this trend has been to act as a brake on national growth. A less burdensome rate of taxation, by increasing the available total of productive capital, would have made for more industry and more jobs and in so doing would have generated a higher national income with a proportionate increase in taxation revenues. We would then have been in a much better position to afford the expensive social services implicit in heavier and heavier government expenditures.

As with taxation, so it is with population. The past decade saw Canada's population increase from about 14 million to 18¼ million. This nearly 30 per cent increase looks impressive and, of course, it is. But the past two or three years in particular have seen a serious falling-off in this rate of increase and furnish little support for the belief that we will show a comparable percentage gain in the Sixties. The national birthrate, while still high, has been falling, while successive annual totals of immigrants have declined alarmingly to the point where last year the figure sank to a ten-year low of 71,000. When you set against that figure the more than 50,000 Canadians who emigrated, the net gain is negligible.

The combination of a declining national birth rate and a virtual erosion of our net gain from immigration is hardly conducive to the further manufacturing expansion so essential to a dynamic economy.

We must hope that this trend will be reversed. By the same token we must recognize the fact that it is much harder to get the kind of skilled people we want and need than it was a few years ago. But given the kind of dynamic economy I mentioned a moment ago I believe we can attract them in sufficient numbers, provided our immigration programme is both realistic and vigorous.

The whole point, of course, of a growing population is that it will create a bigger domestic market, making us economically and politically stronger in the process. All this presupposes increasing consumption of the products of Canadian factories, without which there would not be that further industrial diversification which is so essential.

Here again, the record to date is a disappointing one, for our national appetite for foreign-made products comparable with those made in Canada has been and continues to be voracious in the extreme. Excessive consumption of competitive foreign-made goods on this scale further contracts the already limited market available to our own manufacturers, thereby contributing to higher prices and a lower level of employment than would otherwise be possible. On these grounds alone, the national "Buy Canadian" programme makes the greatest good sense.

There is no doubt that Canadians generally are much more aware than they were even two and three years ago of the effect on jobs and living standards of intensified foreign competition. Management certainly has every reason to appreciate what is at stake, and I am hopeful that organized labour also is coming to the same realization. The obligation to produce a quality product at a competitive price is essentially management's, but management cannot deliver without the co-operation of labour.

I have emphasized the extent to which our industrial costs are influenced by such fundamentals as our limited and scattered domestic market and heavy taxes. Wage pressures unrelated to productivity are, of course, the other principal ingredient of our high costs.

Industrialists like myself are sometimes criticized for bemoaning heavy taxes and high wages. But, you know, this is very much an over-simplification. I am certainly not against high wages, provided they are earned wages in the sense that they reflect in part a real gain in output. It would make no sense for me or any other industrialist to be so opposed, and it is in the interests of all of us to sustain the consumer's purchasing power at the highest possible level.

In a democracy we accept the decision of the majority and I, for my part, am prepared to foot my share of the bill for reasonable social services, provided these celarly are the wish of a majority which realizes in advance that governments can give the people nothing that the people do not pay for. In other words, everyone in favour of bigger and better social services should be willing to pay for them in direct taxes. The present practice of disguising the real cost of these things by making industry carry a large share of the burden is both indefensible and self-defeating in the sense that it jacks up industrial costs and, therefore, prices, making us less competitive and reducing employment and expansion prospects.

This is the message that somehow must be got across to the Canadian public at large. It is a message which in this election I would like to think our politicians were sufficiently forthright and courageous enough to carry to the hustings.

We are living in a time of great change. Within the past decade, we have seen a mass migration from the farm to the city. We have seen the white collar worker become the majority as the numbers of blue collar workers decline in the face of advancing technology. The age of coal and the steam engine is passing. Great new industries like oil and gas are taking over. The diesel and the jet between them are shrinking distances as never before.

In this same decade, the living standards of the Canadian people have risen appreciably. It is enough to note that no fewer than one million, two hundred thousand new houses have been built, which is to say that one out of four families in this country today is living in an ultra-modern home with all the attendant blessings of push-button gadgetry. Make no mistake about it, this is good living.

Of course, everyone is not so affluent that they could not put another dollar to good use and certainly some have benefited more than others, but progress on this scale can never be uniformly equitable. There will always be black spots in the most affluent societies and, of course, there will always be problems, too.

Those of us who realize how deeply our much-envied living standards are rooted in freedom and the private enterprise system, which for so long has served us so well, must do much more than we have yet done to communicate this essential truth to the people of Canada. Nor should we delay much longer.

The siren voices of the socializers and the advocates of a government-directed economy are to be heard in the land. In the name of doing good, they could do great harm if they were to get their way and stifle that sense of private initiative and private enterprise so fundamental to our national economic health. We must see to it that they do not get their way. Such is the challenge before us.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Harold G. Gillingham.

ANNUAL MEETING

Thursday, April 12th, 1962

CHAIRMAN: The President, Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT: On November 18th, 1903, a small meeting was held in Webb's Restaurant, Toronto, mainly on the initiative of Lieut. Col. James Mason, for the purpose of preliminary discussion. The chairman in a brief speech pointed to the desirability of an organization, following the plan of weekly luncheons, to be addressed by prominent men, or men speaking with authority upon the issues of the day, and having a distinctive basis of British unity in its work and policy.

The paragraph which I have just read outlines succinctly the purpose of our weekly luncheon Club, and it is my duty as retiring President to review the year which has passed in the light of these purposes. During the year, the Club has held twenty-four meetings, and these meetings have been addressed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Ontario, The Honourable Keiller Mackay, the retiring Premier of the Province of Ontario, Mr. Leslie Frost, the retiring Chairman of the Metropolitan Corporation, Mr. Gardiner, and the new Chairman of the Metropolitan Corporation, Mr. William Allen, and by Ambassadors of the United States of America and France, Their Excellencies Mr. Merchant and M. Lacoste, and two distinguished speakers from the United Kingdom, Lord Tweedsmuir and Lord Polwarth. Two members of the Board of Directors, Dr. Howse and General Graham, have made outstanding addresses to the Club. We have listened to persons familiar with the problems of emerging nations in Africa in the persons of Dr. L. Lawson and Dr. James H. Robinson. We have listened to businessmen, Messrs. Donald Gordon, S. J. Randall, W. M. Vacy Ash and F. D.

Mathers, all touching on Canadian and world problems. We have listened to two Professors, Dr. Robert Spencer and Dean H. I. MacDonald, to a Soldier, General Burns, to a Scientist, Dr. Alcock, to Bishop Neil and Mr. Wilson Woodside, all concerned with some phase of Canada's place in the world. For four of these speakers we have had joint meetings with other clubs, viz., The Canadian Club, the Royal Commonwealth Society, and the St. Andrew's Society.

To all of the speakers who have come to us, for the most part without even the payment of expense money and despite the difficulties of the picket lines, we owe a debt of gratitude. The addresses of these men will be printed in our annual Year Book, as you are aware.

Our finances for the year will indicate that we shall end the year with a modest surplus amounting to something over $1,000.00. Our membership stands at approximately 2,150 members, which is a slight reduction from last year.

Because of the strike of hotel employees, this has been a rather difficult year in the Club's history. I wish to pay particular tribute to the members of the Board of Directors who have laboured so diligently on behalf of this Club during this year. I should like to mention particularly four Past Presidents who have continued to distinguish themselves in the service of the Club, namely, Mr. Alexander Stark, the Immediate Past President, Mr. Harold Lawson, Lt. Col. Bruce Legge and Lt. Col. Montague. I should like to mention also in appreciation the work of Mr. Arthur Langley, Chairman of the Membership Committee and a source of strength in many situations, and Mr. J. Palmer Kent, the First Vice President, who took over the head table duties when Mr. Sidney Ashley, the former Chairman of the Head Table Committee, was moved to Western Canada. Mr. Douglas Best, whose firm prints the Year Book for us, deserves special mention, as does Mr. Ford Ralph, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, who is ably assisted by Messrs. Miles, Harpham, Dr. Parish and Dr. Crummey. Mr. J. B. McGeachy and Mr. Ian Baxter of the Publicity Committee have had their work made difficult by reason of the strike this year. Mr. Bredin Stapells, the Chairman of the Year Book Committee, and Mr. David

Menzel, Chairman of our Finance Committee, deserve the thanks of the Club. Fourteen members of the Board of Directors have served on the Speakers' Committee, and I wish to thank them particularlly for their efforts in securing speakers. It is through the work of these men and the work of others on the Board of Directors that The Empire Club is able to carry on from year to year. Special thanks are due also to Mr. Vernon Hearst our Secretary, Mr. MacKinnon of the Royal York Hotel, and Mr. Stanley St. John at the piano.

May I say for myself that it has been a great honour to serve as President of The Empire Club and to follow in the steps of my illustrious predecessors. Only those who have worked in close co-operation with men devoted to the interests of this Club, as I have done in the past year, will realize the strength of the bonds which unite us and the privilege it is to serve as President of this Club.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONTARIO

REPORT AND ACCOUNTS

18th May, 1962

The President and Directors,
The Empire Club of Canada,
Toronto, Ontario.

GENTLEMEN,

Further to our report of this date to the Members of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, we beg to advise as follows:—

Membership Fees:

We are satisfied that, in total, all 1961-62 fees receivable from Members on record as in good standing as at 30th April, 1962, have been accounted for.

The Life Membership Fee received during the fiscal year 1962 of $100.00 has not been invested in Government Bonds as required by the Agreement reached at a meeting of the Officers and Committee Members of the Executive held on 15th April, 1953.

Membership Roll:

Following is a summary of the Membership Roll for the year:—

Membership Roll as at 30th April, 1961	2,096	91	32	2,219
Net Increase or (Decrease)	(60)	(1)	2	(59)
	2,036	90	34	2,160

The Secretary-Treasurer has certified that the Roll as at 30th April, 1962 contained 2,160 Members as above.

Payments:
All payments made during the year were authorized by the Board of Directors.

Liabilities:
The President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Club have certified that there were no outstanding accounts as at 30th April, 1962.

Fidelity Bond:
Mr. H. V. Hearst, the Secretary-Treasurer, is bonded for $2,000.00.

Insurance:
Office Furniture is covered by a fire insurance policy in the amount of $725.00.

Acknowledgement:
We express our appreciation of the courtesy and assistance extended to us during the course of our audit.

Report by,

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY & COMPANY,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1962

Cash on Hand and in Bank 30th April, 1961				$2,858.81
Current Receipts:				
Membership Fees		$12,484.80		
Proceeds from sale of Year Book		61.25		
Interest—Bank	$118.65			
Bonds	180.00	298.65	$12,844.70	
Current Payments:				
Luncheon Expenses—net of proceeds of sale of Tickets		$ 855.73		
Honorarium: Secretary-Treasurer		1,500.00		
Miscellaneous Expenses		378.31		
Music		235.00		
Printing, Stationery and Postage		2,963.85		
Printing 1960-1961 Year Book		4,202.95		
Recording and Publicity		290.83		
Rent		240.00		
Speakers' Fees and Expenses		524.65		
Telephone and Telegraph		174.80	11,366.12	
Excess of Current Receipts over Current Payments				1,478.58
				$4,337.39
Life Membership Fees Received				100.00
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1962				$4,437.39

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1962, and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above Statement shows correctly the Receipts and Payments of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1962.

In addition to the Cash Balance of $4,437.39 the Club held at 30th April, 1962 $4,000.00 Par Value Dominion of Canada 4½% Bonds maturing 1st September, 1983.

At 30th April, 1962 the Club was committed to publish the 1961-62 Year Book at an estimated cost of $4,200.00.

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY & COMPANY,
Toronto, Ontario. CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
18th May, 1962. Honorary Auditors.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1962-1963

Honorary President: HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGES VANIER, D.S.O., M.C., C.D., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA

Officers:

President: J. PALMER KENT, Q.C.
First Vice-President: LT.-GEN. H. D. GRAHAM, C.B.E., D.S.O., E.D., C.D.
Second Vice-President: ARTHUR J. LANGLEY
Third Vice-President: REV. E. M. HOWSE, S.T.M., PH.D., D.D.
Secretary-Treasurer: H. VERNON HEARST, Q.C.
Honorary Secretary: ERNEST MILES
Honorary Treasurer: W. W. COMBER, C.A.
Honorary Auditor: H. T. JAMIESON, F.C.A.

Executive Committee

IAN S. BAXTER
DOUGLAS BEST
JOHN L. BONUS
NORMAN BORINS, Q.C.
J. H. CORRIGAN, Q.C.
DR. HAROLD B. CRANFIELD
DR. CLARENCE B. CRUMMEY
MARVIN B. GELBER
HAROLD G. GILLINGHAM
C. WARREN GOLDRING
GRAHAM M. GORE
HON. PAUL T. HELLYER, M.P.
WILLIAM M. KARN
J. B. MCGEACHY
DAVID G. C. MENZEL
PAUL H. MILLS, Q.C., O.B.E.
DONALD G. NEELANDS, Q.C.
DR. JAMES A. PARISH
R. FORD RALPH
R. BREDIN STAPELLS, Q.C.
J. K. WILLIAMS, Q.C.
R. J. WOOD

Immediate Past President

Z. S. PHIMISTER

Past Presidents

ALEXANDER STARK, Q.C.
HAROLD R. LAWSON
LT. COL. BRUCE J. LEGGE, Q.C., E.D.

CONSTITUTION

Instituted 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(a) "The purposes and objects of the Club shall include the consideration and discussion of subjects and events affecting the interests of the British Commonwealth and Empire and the promotion of unity among the nations and members within the British Commonwealth and Empire.

(2) Branches of the club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members,
(f) Corporate or Sustaining Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f) must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article Active Resident, Associate, Non-Resident and Life Members shall pay respectively such annual fees as may be fixed from time to time by the Board of Directors, and no member in arrears for fees shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of September in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Members of the Club in good standing, and other persons regularly proposed and accepted, may be created Life Members of the Club by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $75.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Corporate or Sustaining Members

Art. 5A—Any company, partnership or business organization shall be eligible for election as a Corporate or Sustaining Member. Applicants shall be proposed by two Active Resident Members of the Club in good standing and the application shall contain the name and position of the Officer nominated by the Applicant as its Candidate for membership. The Applicant and its Nominee shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee. A Sustaining or Corporate Member shall pay an annual fee of $50.00 which shall include the fee of its representative member.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The business of the Club shall be managed by a Board of Directors who may exercise all such powers and do all such acts and things that may be exercised or done by the Club and are not by the constitution or by statute expressly directed or required to be done by the Club at a general meeting of its members.

(2) The Board of Directors shall consist of 30 members of the Club who shall be elected annually at a general meeting held not later than April 30th in each year.

(3) The Board of Directors may include seven past presidents of the Club, one of whom shall be the immediate past president and three others shall consist of the three past presidents immediately preceding the immediate past president, if they are available and willing to act as directors.

(4) The Board of Directors shall meet as soon as convenient after their appointment for the purpose of appointing the officers of the Club (except the auditor or honorary auditor), for the year ending on April 30th but each officer shall continue in office until his successor is elected.

(5) The officers shall consist of an Honorary President, President, first, second and third Vice-presidents, Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretary, a Secretary-Treasurer, and if considered necessary by the Directors, an Assistant-Secretary, an Assistant Treasurer and an Honorary Auditor. The Honorary President, the Honorary Treasurer, the Honorary Secretary, the Secretary-Treasurer and the Honorary Auditor are not required to be Directors of the Club.

(6) In the event of any vacancy occurring in the office of Director, the remaining directors may fill the vacancy from among the members for the unexpired portion of the term of office of the person whose office is vacant.

(7) The election of the members of the Board of Directors at a general meeting called for that purpose shall be by adoption of a resolution proposed by the chairman or acting chairman of a nominating committee. The nominating committee consisting of five members of the Board of Directors and four other members of the Club shall be appointed by the Board of Directors and approved at a regular or special meeting of the Club not less than four and not more than six weeks before the Annual Meeting. The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall report the recommendations of that committee to the Annual Meeting. If nominations do not exceed the number of Directors necessary, the Chairman of the Meeting may instruct the Secretary-Treasurer, to cast one ballot in favour of those so nominated and thereupon such persons shall be declared by the Chairman to have been duly elected.

(8) The Nominating Committee shall recommend to the Board of Directors the proposed officers of the Club for the ensuing year, except the auditor or honorary auditor, and shall report their recommendations to the Annual Meeting, and the auditor or honorary auditor shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

(9) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:
- (a) Budget and Finance Committee.
- (b) Speakers' Committee.
- (c) Membership Committee.
- (d) Constitution Committee.
- (e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
- (f) Publicity Committee.
- (g) Year Book Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the Officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly, if possible, from October to April, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. An audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year shall be published in the Year Book.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Nine members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two thirds majority vote of the members present.

MEMBERSHIP

as at May 20, 1962

LIFE MEMBERS

Allan, William N.
Bruce, Hon. Dr. Herbert
Clouse, F. L.
Cobham, Arthur H.
Cosens, Gordon G.
Eaton, Donald L. H.
Eisen, Sol
Gardiner, F. G., Q.C.
Gibson, D. H., C.B.E.
Gordon, Crawford Jr.
Hough, Thomas Edward
Johnston, Wm. D.
Murdoch, J. Y., Q.C., LL.D.
Ridley, John B.
Roman, Stephen B.
Rosen, Allen E.
Sandy, J.
Scythes, J. A.
Smeed, J. R.
Suchorab, S. A.
Sullivan, Hon. Dr. J. A.
Thomson, Garth O.
Thomson, K. R.
Tindall, H. B.
Watkins, Wm. B.
Wilson, Col. J. E.

HONORARY MEMBERS

His Excellency Maj.-Gen. Georges Vanier, D.S.O., M.C., C.D.
Field Marshal The Rt. Hon. Earl Alexander of Tunis

Daniels, D. K., O.B.E.
Frost, Hon. Leslie M., P.C., Q.C., LL.D., D.C.L.
Gardiner, F. B., Q.C.
Geary, Major B. Handley, V.C.
Gillespie, Lt.-Col. George H.
Mackay, Hon. J. Keiller, D.S.O., V.D., LL.D.
Stapells, H. G., Q.C., M.A.

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

Alexander, R. W.
Allan, Roy D.
Ashbury, Ivan H.
Bailey, B. W.
Barber, John R.
Beatty, Dr. S. R.
Beaumont, Arthur
Belyea, Abner B.
Blackford, H. Arnold
Bowlby, C. L.
Campbell, C. B.
Church, C. N., B.A.
Corson, C. R.
Cranstoun, John A.
Currie, George
Davey, Keith
Davidson, George MacK.
Davies, Dr. John B.
Donlan, T. H.
Downer, Capt. the Hon. Rev. A.W., M.P.P.
Drew, Hon. Geo. A., P.C., Q.C.
Drummond, H. G.
Dunlop, J. Gordon
Dutton, B. A.
Ferriman, K. C.
Fitch, T. S.
Fleming, Hon. D. M., Q.C., M.P.
Gilbert, C. A.
Gunyon, C. Cecil
Halbus, Prof. Frank
Hannon, Dr. J. W. G.
Harton, E. Douglas
Hill, Percy C.
Howsam, Air Vice Marshal, G. R., C.B., M.C.
Hubbel, Frank
Hughes, Gordon R.

Hutcheson, Frank W.
Jackson, George B.
Kennedy, A. P.
Kidd, Hon. T. Ashmore
Koyl, J. E.
LeBrocq, S. E.
Leyden, C.
Lindsay, W. W.
Macfarlane, P. B.
MacKellar, J. F.
MacRae, Rev. Arthur
Manbert, Ray R.
Marshall, Dr. M. R.
Mathews, C. K.
Maxwell, Rev. Gordon S., B.A.
McBain, Alex L.
McCrae, W. H.
McLaughlin, Col. R. S.
Mercer, Douglas A.
Mitchener, Hon. D. R., Q.C., M.P.
Mitchell, Robert N.
Moffat, John A.
Moller, George
Monsarrat, Nicholas
Morgan, James C.
Murison, R. A. J.
Newman, J. M., M.P.P.
Nixon, Stanley E.
Oakie, Alfred U.
Opie, R. P.
Partington, Eric
Patterson, David S. L.
Perry, John Wm.
Pritchard, H. S.
Pugsley, T. Aubrey
Rackley, Frank B.
Rickwood, George
Rolland, Lucien G.
Rossall, J. S.
Rutherford, Brig. W. S.
Scott, Wilfred R.
Sherk, Frank T.
Smith, J. Duncan
Spencer, C. Wilson
Strathy, R. A. C.
Thompson, E. F.
Thomson, J. R.
Todgham, R. W.
Wallace, L. M.
Walker, Hon. D. J., Q.C., M.P.
Watkins, David J., M.B.E.
Weeks, A. L.
West, R. A.
Weimer, D. P., Jr.
White, Geoffrey B.
Wilson, Thomas L.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Abbey, Robert
Abbs, Charles E.
Abel, John B.
Abernethy, Lt. Col. W. W.
Abra, J. S.
Acheson, Arthur P.
Adair, Herbert E.
Adair, Joseph
Adams, G. W., Q.C.
Adams, H. R.
Adams, J. C.
Adams, W. Bruce
Adamson, Edwin F.
Adamson, Walter
Adye, Rev. Canon E. R. G.
Agar, Norman E.
Ainsborough, F. J.
Aird, A. E.
Airey, H. T.
Aitchison, R. J.
Alberts, Edgar T.
Aletter, Howard G .
Alexander, Robert
Algar, John B.
Algie, R. L.
Allan, Dr. Blandford
Allan, Richard J.
Allanson, Harry E.
Allen, Ivan V.
Allen, Ralph
Allingham, N. W.
Allworth, Robert D.
Ambridge, D. W.
Ambrose, Philip J.
Ander, J.
Anderson, D. S.
Anderson, J. Murray
Andrew, Archdeacon G. A.

Andrew, George C.
Annett, D. R.
Anthony, R. F. K.
Appleton, C. N.
Archbold, William D.
Archibald, C. Roger, Q.C.
Argue, D .R.
Arkell, T. E.
Arminas, John
Armstrong, H. C.
Armstrong, P. P.
Armstrong, Robert L.
Armstrong, Warren
Armstrong, W. E.
Armstrong, W. G.
Armstrong, Hon. W. Park
Asbury, Frank C.
Ash, W. M. V.
Ashforth, A. C.
Ashley, Sidney E.
Assheton-Smith, J. E.
Atherton, C.
Atkins, James
Austin, Howard A.
Austin, J. Jarvis

Babcock, Harold A.
Bagshaw, B. F.
Bailey, John Arnold
Bailey, William Gill
Bainard, R. H.
Baker, Rev. A. Gordon
Baker, Albert G.
Baker, Donald J.
Baker, Col. E. A.
Baker, George
Baker, John R.
Baker, S. R.
Balfour, Norman E.
Balfour, Vincent
Ball, J. R.
Ballantyne, R. B.
Bankes, John M.
Banks, Benjamin
Barber, Arthur W.
Barber, Ernest J.
Barber, Orville B.
Barber, William
Barclay, D. F.
Bark, W. A.
Barlow, Hon. Justice F. H.
Barlow, G. W.
Barr, John A.
Barrett, E. M.
Barrett, Franklin L.
Barrett, L. C., Q.C.
Bartlett, P. H.
Bassett, John
Bastedo, E. A.
Bate, William B.
Bater, G. W.
Bates, G. H.
Bates, Dr. Gordon
Batten, L. R.
Batten, Reg. A.
Bawden, H. N.
Baxter, Ian St. C.
Baxter, Major James, M.C.
Baxter, W. H.
Bealey, Ernest R.
Beare, S. E.
Beattie, D. J.
Beattie, L. S.
Beatty, D. S.
Beauchamp, Walter N.
Beaupré, W. J.
Bedolfe, Robert D.
Beeston, George H.
Begley, George B.
Bell, Lt.-Col. Arthur A.
Bell, Cecil B.
Bell, Cyril
Bell, J. Donald, Q.C.
Bell, J. R.
Bell, Norman B.
Belyea, Roy E.
Ben, George
Benitz, John
Bennett, A. B.
Bennett, Bruce T.
Bennett, David T.
Bennett, Dr. Gordon F.
Bennett, Rev. Reginald M.
Bentley, A. F.
Bentley, Ralph D.
Bentley, W. A.
Berceller, Oscar
Berk, M. J.
Berkinshaw, R. C.
Berner, W. G.

Berry, Harry H.
Berry, J. Wilson
Best, Douglas W.
Best, Gordon H.
Best, T. Harrison
Best, T. W.
Bick, C. O.
Bickle, W. N.
Biggs, G. L.
Bilbrough, W. H.
Birney, Gordon C.
Birrell, Dr. Russell G.
Bishop, Joseph
Blackmore, O. Ralph
Blackstock, C. R.
Blainey, James E.
Blair, Peter D. B.
Blair, S. M.
Blair, Willis L.
Blake, Parker G.
Blanchard, H. A.
Blenkinship, C. S.
Blostone, Ivan
Boehm, A. Fred
Boland, John B.
Bolger, H. N.
Bolsby, P. J., Q.C.
Bond, H. B.
Bongard, Ian A.
Bonnaffon, Ashton
Bonnycastle, Lawrence C.
Bonus, John L.
Bonyun, J. L., D.C., V.D.
Bonyun, Denis F.
Boone, Thomas
Booth, C. W.
Booth, J. K. B.
Booth, Ross W.
Borins, Norman, Q.C.
Borins, Stephen
Bosanquet, L. C.
Bosley, W. H.
Bosnell, G. M.
Bosworth, N. L.
Bourne, F. R.
Bourne, J. H.
Bourne, T. W. H.
Bowden, C. F. M.
Bowen, Lloyd H.
Boyd, John A., Jr.
Boyd, LeRoy
Boyko, Joseph, LL.D.
Boyle, B. E.
Boyles, Thomas A.
Boysen, H. C.
Bozek, R. B.
Bradley, H. R.
Bradshaw, Alec.
Bradshaw, M. A.
Bradshaw, R. B.
Bradshaw, Robert H.
Brailey, F. George
Brain, George M.
Brander, F. Gerald
Branson, C.
Breakey, B. I. F.
Breckenridge, R. J.
Breithaupt, Douglas L.
Brent, John E.
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Brett, Harold O.
Breuer, K.
Broad, Charles H.
Broad, F. Ralph
Brockington, L. W., C.M.G., Q.C., LL.D.
Brocklebank, Frank
Brodsky, Jack
Brooks, Dr. Clarence E.
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Broomfield, George
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Brown, Mannie
Brown, Ross S.
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Browne, W. H.
Bruton, Maclean Wm.
Bruce, A. W.
Bryce, Robert A.
Buchan, P. B.

Buchanan, Dr. Bruce H.
Buck, Dr. C. A.
Buckley, R. J., C.P.A.
Budd, Edward B.
Buddenhagen, W. C.
Bull, J. N.
Bullied, Arthur
Burden, John M., Q.C.
Burgess, Horace T.
Burka, MacDonald
Burkart, W. W.
Burke, E. T. C.
Burke, H. Gwynne
Bumell, J. K.
Burman, J. O.
Burn, John M.
Burn, Kenneth
Burnard, F. S.
Burnham, Arthur
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Burnside, E. G.
Burrows, R. G., Q.C.
Burton, E. G.
Burton, Lt. Col. G. Allan
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Bury, W. H.
Bush, Clayton E.
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Butler, W. Chester
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Buyers, Russell W.
Byers, E. S.
Byers, Victor G.

Cadario, H. P.
Cadesky, L.
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Calladine, Eric A.
Callow, A. C.
Calvin, C. C., Q.C.
Cameron, Donald, Jr.
Cameron, E. Rodney
Cameron, Robert C.
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Campbell, Brig. Colin A.
Campbell, E. M.
Campbell, H. C.
Campbell, Dr. H. H.
Campbell, Ian L.
Campbell, Hon. Peter, Q.C.
Campbell, Paul J.
Cannon, Dr. C. F.
Caplan, Isadore
Cappe, N. R., Q.C.
Card, Ivan E.
Cardy, A. Gordon
Carey, A. R.
Carl, Gordon A.
Carlisle, D. C.
Carlo, John C.
Carmichael, John B. W.
Carnegie, A. D.
Carpenter, J. H.
Carnegie, F. T.
Carr, E. P.
Carradus, Capt. H. R.
Carrick, Donald D., Q.C.
Carson, C. E.
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Carson, R. B.
Cartwright, T.
Carver, R. D.
Cary, Len
Cary, Reginald
Cassels, Gordon T.
Casserly, F. W.
Cassidy, Hugh F.
Casson, Richard
Catto, James A.
Cavell, H. E.
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Chambers, H. J. A.
Champion, R. H.
Chant, Dixon S.
Chapman, F. D.
Chapman, S. F.
Charles, Leo E.
Charters, Alan H.
Chenoweth, Dr. T. Oswald
Cherry, Robert
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Chisholm, Robt. F.
Chorlton, John M.
Christie, Col. J. H., M.C., E.D.
Christopher, W. H.
Chrysler, H. W.

Ciglen, Samuel, Q.C.
Clark, A. P.
Clark, A. S.
Clark, E. C.
Clark, George F.
Clark, John G.
Clark, Robert F.
Clarke, George F. S.
Clarkson, G. H.
Clarry, John H. C.
Clemence, J. C.
Clemes, J. C.
Cleminson, F. G.
Clinkard, Herbert S.
Cobban, William A.
Cochrane, J. M.
Cockburn, Blake A.
Cohen, John C.
Coke, Major E. F.
Colby, S. A.
Cole, Sydney
Cole, T. F. C.
Colebrook, H. G.
Coleman, John H.
Coles, Gordon E.
Collett, Wm. M.
Collier, W. R.
Comber, W. W., C.A.
Connell, J. H. E.
Connolly, C. P.
Conquergood, C. R.
Coo, H. Douglas
Coo, N. Douglas
Cook, Douglas H.
Cook, F. Gordon, Q.C.
Cook, H. E.
Cook, R. A.
Cooper, Chas. F. W.
Cooper, Dr. W. J.
Copeland, W. M.
Corbett, H. Milton
Corbett, J. E.
Cormack, Wm. B.
Cornish, F. Joseph
Corrigan, Lt.-Col. C. A., D.S.O., V.D.
Corrigan, J. H.
Cory, Peter DeC.
Cosbie, Dr. W. G., M.C.
Cosby, Stanley C.
Cosgrave, Rev. Dr. F. H.
Coster, Philip E.
Couke, J. H.
Coupland, W. C.
Coutts, Earle K.
Coutts, William E.
Coventry, A. J.
Cowan, Albert
Cowan, O. D.
Cowan, P. J.
Cowan, W. D.
Coward, Laurence E.
Cowling, Alfred H.
Cox, Everett S.
Coy, Wm. H.
Cragg, Peter S.
Craick, W. A.
Craig, Lt.-Col. J. A. D., O.B.E., E.D.
Craig, J. L.
Craigie, W. A. J.
Crane, John E.
Cranfield, Dr. Harold V.
Crang, J. H.
Crashley, Lt. Col. J. D., C.D., A.D.C.
Crawford, E. S.
Crawford, F. J.
Crawford, J. K. L.
Cresswell, David
Cresswell, H. A.
Creswell, James A.
Crichton, R. J.
Crispin, R. John
Crompton, R. G.
Croombs, William J.
Cross, William B.
Crossan, J. H.
Crossingham, J. H.
Crudge, R. W.
Crump, James F.
Crummey, Dr. Clarence B.
Cudbird, L. J.
Culnan, Dr. G. F.
Cummings, Herbert V.
Cummings, Walter M.
Cummins, R. L.
Currie, Gordon S.
Currie, H. D. G.
Currie, Wm. M.

Curry, T. E.
Curson, B. R.
Curtis, W. Gordon
Curtis, G. H.
Cuthbert, George
Cuthbertson, Gordon

Dadson, A. S.
Dagg, H. M.
Dale, R. G., D.S.O., D.F.C.
Dales, Robert L.
Dalrymple, E. Ross
Dalrymple, John E.
Dalton, Lt. Col. C. O., D.S.O.
Dalton, William H.
Daly, R. A.
Daly, R. A., Jr.
Darbyshire, William
Darroch, H. C.
Darrosh, J. J.
Davey, R. Ian
Davidson, I. D.
Davidson, Philip, Q.C.
Davie, James H.
Davies, Rev. Emlyn
Davies, Rev. F. V.
Davies, H. E.
Davis, E. R., B.SC., P.ENG.
Davison, Martin A.
Davis, Neil C.
Dawson, Isaac
Day, H. R.
Day, Robert E.
Day, W. D.
Deacoff, G. A.
Deacon, John A., Q.C.
Deacon, P. S.
Dean, Harold B.
Deans, M. C.
Dearlove, Frank E.
Dedman, Arthur M.
Deeks, Dr. S. H.
DeGuerre, Fred L.
Delahey, W. A.
Delamere, R. D.
Delaney, Wm. H.
Denning, Rev. H. M.
Derry, Duncan R.
Despard, J. E.
Devereaux, Edward J.

Dewar, A. M.
Dickey, A. J.
Dickinson, Dr. C. H.
Dickinson, M. R.
Dickson, H. M. J.
Dierlam, Howard
Dies, W. C.
Dilworth, W. A.
Diltz, B. C.
Dingle, D. B.
Dingle, Lloyd E.
Disney, Russell
Dix, William B.
Dixon, A. B.
Dixon, B.
Dixon, J. W. M.
Doherty, Jas. H.
Dolson, Dr. Wilbur J. M.
Donovan, Geo. R., Jr.
Dow, J. M.
Dowie, Ian R.
Down, A. F., O.B.E., M.C., E.D.
Dowsett, H.
Dowsett, R. E.
Draper, B. M.
Drucker, Leo D.
Drury, G. M.
Dubin, C. L., Q.C.
Duff, John A.
Duffet, Norman G.
Duffy, John F.
Dunbar, Arthur W.
Duncan, J. M.
Duncan, J. R.
Duncan, W. A.
Duncanson, Frank S.
Dunkelman, D.
Dunlop, W. A.
Dunn, David
Dunn, William
Durnan, N. E.
Dutton, Thomas M.
Dwyer, F. A.
Dwytie, K. I.
Dye, Harold E.
Dye, R. A. E.
Dyer, Virgil V.

Eade, Edgar
Eakin, Joseph S.

Eckler, Henry H.
Eckler, Samuel
Eckersley, Alfred
Edwards, Alexander
Edwards, A. H.
Edwards, A. Geoffrey, F.C.A.
Edwards, Dr. H. E.
Edwards, H. W.
Edwards, James H.
Elder, C. K.
Elder, John J.
Elgie, G. C., Q.C.
Elliot, B. V., Q.C.
Elliott, Charles R., C.A.
Elliott, Donald R.
Elliott, Gordon E.
Elliott, Harold H.
Elliott, H. J.
Elliott, W. Earle
Ellis, C. Q.
Ellison, H. H.
Elmore, Thos. S., Q.C.
Elton, J. O.
Ely, Edward H.
Emerson, L. E.
Emerson, R. V.
Emmert, T. J.
Emond, Douglas L.
Emonson, Bruce
Empringham, John R.
Engholm, F. G.
Engholm, R. A.
Epstein, H. B.
Epstein, Morris H.
Ethel, H.
Etherington, F. C.
Evans, S. T.
Ezrin, Sydney

Faber, George
Fairbairn, R. L.
Fairclough, R. P.
Falkiner, F. H.
Fallis, Clare R.
Fallis, George A., Q.C.
Faludi, Dr. E. G.
Fardoe, H. R.
Farmer, Patterson
Faulder, W. H.
Favager, F. G.
Fayle, L. V.
Ferguson, George S. P.
Ferguson, Gordon F.
Ferguson, H. M.
Ferguson, P. B. G.
Fessenden, C. V.
Field, E. M.
Findlay, William
Fingold, Sam.
Firstbrook, Hugh M.
Firstbrook, W. A.
Fish, Benjamin
Fisher, A. J.
Fisher, Frank
Fitzgibbons, J. J. Jr.
Flavelle, Sir Ellsworth
Fleming, Robert
Fletcher, S. S.
Flint, Lyman G. B.
Flood, Lennox E.
Flora, L. J.
Flower, Dr. G. E.
Flynn, W. Hugh
Fockler, Ewart K.
Fodor, Nicholas
Follett, Archibald J.
Follett, Gordon
Foot, D. L.
Foord, Lionel H
Ford, Gordon W., Q.C.
Forman, Jerome F.
Forrester, William J.
Forster, F. E.
Forsyth, C. D.
Foulds, Kenneth A., Q.C.
Fournier, R. P.
Fox, George E.
Fox, G. Kingsley
Fox, John H.
Frankel, Egmont L.
Frankel, Roy H.
Fraser, D. G.
Fraser, Edison
Freedman, Bernard
Fremes, Charles
French, D. J.
Freyseng, Willis P.
Friesen, David H.
Friesen, Edward J.
Frittenburg, G. D.

Frost, C. Sydney
Frost, Lt. Col. C. Sydney, Q.C.
Fry, H.
Fryer, J. D.
Funston, R. O.

Gairdner, J. A.
Gairdner, John S.
Galbraith, C. W.
Galer, C. N.
Gallagher, Rev. W. J., M.A., B.D., D.D.
Galloway, Charles T. P.
Gardiner, George C.
Gardiner, Percy R.
Gardner, R. J. Currie
Garlick, Roland D.
Garrett, Albert H.
Garside, S. T.
Gartley, J. C.
Gaskell, Ian M.
Gassard, H. L.
Gathercole, George E.
Gaunt, J. William
Geggie, Thomas P., C.A.
Geisler, R. A.
Gelber, Marvin B.
Gelinas, Ernest A.
Gelleny, J. J.
Geller, John A.
Geller, M. J.
Gemmell, John S.
Genovese, Frank A.
Georgas, Michael P.
Gerrard, William
Gerstein, Bertrand
Gianelli, Brig. Norman A.
Gibbens, W. M.
Gibbons, J. Robert
Gibson, Hon. Justice Colin
Gibson, Gordon
Gibson, Harold
Gibson, J. Douglas
Gilbride, W. P.
Gilchrist, Prof. Lachlan
Giles, T. S. H.
Giles, W. H.
Gill, Ernest I.
Gillanders, Dr. E. B.
Gillespie, A. Grant
Gillespie, Ross R.
Gillingham, W/C Harold G.
Gillham, John
Gilmour, D. W.
Godbold, R. S.
Godin, J. K.
Godfrey, Frank
Godsall, Gordon H.
Godwin, F. W.
Gohn, Byron E.
Goldring, Dr. C. C.
Goldring, C. Warren
Goldring, Dr. L. W.
Goldsmith, Martin
Goldsmith, Wm. L.
Goldson, W. Leonard
Gontier, M.
Gooderham, F. L.
Gooderham, Lt.-Col. Melville S.
Goodfellow, Bruce
Goodman, Edwin A.
Goodman, Fred C., C.A., M.C.
Goodman, Jacob
Goodman, J. Edward
Goodwin, Harley D.
Gordon, E. W.
Gordon, Irwin
Gordon, Brig. J. Neil, D.S.O.
Gordon, K. E.
Gordon, William E.
Gore, Graham M.
Gorham, W. E.
Gossage, B. F.
Gossage, S. M.
Gourley, George
Gowdy, Douglas M.
Grafstrom, V. F.
Graham, D. M.
Graham, Lt.-Gen. H. D., C.B.E., D.S.O., E.D., C.D.
Graham, J. J.
Graham, J. Lindsay
Graham, J. Rennie
Grainger, R. N.
Grandy, T. C.
Grant, David R.
Grant, G. E.
Grant, James A.
Grant, J. R.

Grant, J. W.
Grant, W. G. F.
Grasett, H. W. S.
Gray, Rev. Bruce, D.D.
Gray, K. J.
Gray, W. B.
Green, J. D.
Green, Joseph L.
Greenglass, David
Greenglass, Morton
Gregor, Tibor P.
Gregory, Rev. L. A., D.D.
Greig, D. M.
Grier, Col. C. G. M., E.D., M.A.
Griesdale, C. E.
Griffin, John W.
Griffiths, F. D.
Grimbly, Maurice
Grisdale, C. L.
Grose, George W.
Gross, Harold
Gullett, Dr. D. W.
Gundy, C. L.
Gunn, Major General John A.
Gunn, Robert F.
Gwynne-Timothy, K. G. R.

Hadden, Eugene R.
Hagon, W. A.
Hahn, George
Hall, Howard A.
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Hall, P. Frank T.
Hall, William
Halls, Peter E.
Hambly, Samuel G.
Hamilton, H. D.
Hamilton, John B., M.P.
Hamilton, R. M. P.
Hancocks, Oliver
Hanna, Wm. B.
Harbinson, V. D., F.C.A.
Harding, John L.
Hargraft, George M.
Hargraft, W. M.
Hargreaves, Roy
Harley, D. S.
Harper, Henry G.
Harpham, Horace
Harrington, Dr. Paul
Harris, Edward L.
Harris, William B.
Harris, W. C.
Harrison, Wm. H.
Harvey, Warren G.
Harvey, Dr. W. J.
Hastings, C. E.
Hatton, Rev. Noble
Hatton, Wm. T.
Hawes, Fred J.
Hawke, J. H.
Hawken, J. B.
Hawkins, H. J.
Hay, Frank
Hayden, Hon. Salter A., Q.C.
Hayes, Barry B.
Hayes, B. P.
Hayes, John D.
Hayman, J. L.
Hayward, A. P.
Heal, R. F.
Hearn, Dr. Richard
Hearst, H. V., Q.C.
Heath, L. B.
Hellyer, Hon. Paul T., M.P.
Helm, Clifford T.
Hemingway, Sinclair
Hendershot, F. D.
Henderson, D. A.
Henderson, D. C.
Henderson, J. C.
Henderson, John J.
Henderson, R. G.
Henderson, W. G.
Henderson, W. R.
Henry, Charles J.
Henry, Edwin M.
Henson, R. C. C.
Henty, Sterndale
Hermant, Sydney
Heron, Matthew W.
Herz, H.
Heywood, Dr. Peter M.
Hickey, Winston E.
Hicks, M. R.
Hicks, P. A.
Hicks-Lyne, Col. R. T. E.
Hickson, Donald E.
Highmoor, C. K.
Hilborn, Robert H.

Hill, F. W.
Hill, John D.
Hill, Richard M.
Hill, Roy C.
Hill, Wm. S.
Hillmer, R. W.
Hines, W. James
Hinton, D. R.
Hobson, A.
Hodgson, Lorne
Hoffman, Charles C.
Hogg, Lt.-Col. N. D., M.B.E., E.D.
Holditch, Ross O.
Holford, Wm. D.
Holland, Douglas F.
Holland, Graham H.
Hollands, H. C.
Hollenbeck, R. A.
Holmes, Hartley R.
Holmes, M. W.
Holt, M. O.
Hooker, Edwin R. K.
Hopkins, Howard
Hopkins, Percy E.
Hore, John E.
Horte, Vernon L.
Horner, David K.
Horsey, Grant
Hough, Jack
Houghton, P. J.
Houghton, W. R.
Houston, Wm. F.
Howard, A. L.
Howard, Benson C.
Howard, G. S.
Howe, A. W.
Howe, Lloyd G.
Howes, Basil L.
Howey, Major Charles B.
Howland, Wm. G. C., Q.C.
Howse, Rev. E. M., S.T.M., PH.D.,
Howse, Thomas H.
Huddart, V. J.
Hudgins, V. J.
Huggard, Maj. C. O.
Huffmann, George E.
Huffmann, Karl
Hughes, H. E.
Hughes, J. Edward
Hughes, John A.
Hughes, R. A.
Hugill, Albert E.
Hugill, W. M.
Hull, Robert J.
Hull, Rodney
Hulton, William S., C.A.
Humphrey, Charles S.
Humphries, W. R. B.
Humphris, John
Hungerford, J. G., Q.C.
Hunnisett, E. A.
Hunt, A. T.
Hunt, Rt. Rev. Henry R.
Hunt, W. E. Harvey
Hunter, B. Pepall
Hunter, E. Norval
Hunter, H. B.
Hunter, Howard W.
Hunter, K. M., C.A.
Hunter, Rev. L. I.
Huston, J. A.
Hutchinson, J. D. H.
Hutchison, R. T.
Hutchison, W. L.
Hyde, F. C. W.
Hyland, Nelson A.
Hynes, G. E.

Ingham, W. T.
Inkster, L. A.
Innes, J. S.
Inwood, Arthur E. M.
Irving, J. D.
Irving, Thomas G.
Irwin, N. L.
Irwin, O. Ross
Irwin, Wallace

Jackman, Henry N. R.
Jackman, H. R., Q.C.
Jackson, E. S.
Jackson, George H.
Jackson, George R.
Jacques, Rev. Canon E.
Jacques, E. M.
Jaffey, J. M.
Jaffray, P.
James, T. B.
Jamieson, H. T., F.C.A.

Jamieson, John D.
Jamieson, J. M.
Jansen, Werner
Jardine, R. G.
Jarvis, Albert
Jeanneret, Dr. F. C.
Jeffers, Wellington J.
Jeffery, W. H.
Jeffrey, P. G.
Jenkins, John S.
Jennett, Lorne B.
Jenney, H. B.
Jennings, M. R.
Jennison, George Leslie
Jephcott, Dr. C. M.
Joliffe, E. B., Q.C.
Johns, Ray
Johnson, Dr. Joseph
Johnson, Sidney
Johnston, J. C.
Johnston, John I.
Johnston, R. C.
Johnston, T. S.
Jolliffe, Lt.-Col. W. H.
Jones, Rev. A. W.
Jones, E. L.
Jones, Oakah L.
Jones, R. E.
Jones, R. Walden
Jones, Terence L.
Joyce, James H.
Joyce, Wallace R.
Jupp, Donald H., O.B.E.

Karn, Wm. M.
Kasman, Philip
Kasman, S. M.
Kay, George W. B.
Kay, W. R.
Kaye, Alex. B.
Kaye, J. N.
Keaveney, Derek G.
Keefer, Major T. C.
Keeler, L. A.
Keenan, J. S.
Keith, I. C.
Kellow, Ralph S.
Kelly, F. E.
Kennedy, Jack R.
Kenny, M. K.
Kent, James Palmer, Q.C.
Kent, T. Douglas
Kenton, Rolf
Kenney, Telford Vanburgh
Kernaghan, E. B.
Kernaghan, K. W., Q.C.
Kerr, Rev. D. M.
Kerr, John E., Q.C.
Kerr, J. W.
Kerr, L. W.
Kerr, W. R.
Kert, Lawrence
Kert, Sheldon
Keyes, Gordon
Keys, Norman A., Q.C.
Kidd, David
Kinahan, John W.
Kindersley, C. M.
King, Edward O.
King, R. H.
King, T. A.
Kinghorn, A. A.
Kingsbury, E. D.
Kingsmill, A. S.
Kingsmill, Col. C. D.
Kinnear, T. Clark, F.C.A.
Kirbyson, R. E.
Kirchbaum, Dr. J. M.
Kitchen, C. E., Q.C.
Kitchen, Dr. Irving D.
Kitchen, Rev. Sterling J.
Knight, J. E.
Kobrick, H. Robert
Koerber, Walter F., B.A., D.PAED.
Koerner, Michael M.
Koerner, W. R.
Konura, Kazuhide
Koropp, John
Krane, J. D.
Kyle, J. C., C.L.V.

LaBine, Gilbert
Lacey, Rev. E. C.
Lackie, Dan
La Ferle, Charles
Laffey, James V.
Laidley, Kenneth R.
Laing, G. Blair
Lambert, A. T.

Lampert, H.
Lamport, Allan A.
Land, Gordon W.
Landreville, Hon. Justice L. A.
Lane, F. E.
Langer, Henry P.
Langley, Arthur James
Large, Peter K.
Lark, Rev. G. A. W.
Larkin, Montague
Larmer, R. K.
Larry, Leo J.
Lascelles, G. A.
Laski, Dr. Bernard, M.D., F.R.C.P.
Laughlen, G. A.
Laughlin, J. E.
Laughlin, K. D.
Laurin, C. J.
Lawer, John V.
Lawlor, J. P.
Lawrence, Allan F.
Lawrie, Donald L.
Lawson, Frank G.
Lawson, H. R.
Lawson, Hugh R.
Lawson, L. W.
Lawson, M. B. M.
Laxton, Edward
Lay, Harry M.
Leake, G. Ray
Leake, Ray
Leal, H. Allan, Q.C.
LeCapelain, R. R.
Leck, R. H.
Lederman, Percy
Ledingham, H. R.
Leckey, Robert H.
Lee, Edward A.
Legge, B. J.
Legge, W. R.
Lehberg, F. H.
Leibel, Dr. Bernard
Leibel, William
LeMay, R. T. M., C.A.
LeMesurier, A. S.
Lemesurier, J. Ross
Lennard, Gordon H.
Leonidas, G. J.
Levenston, Lt.-Col. G. F.
Lever, Harold
Levinter, B. V.
Levinter, Isadore, Q.C.
Levy, Mark A.
Levy, Mort L., C.L.U.
Lewis, Dr. A. C.
Lewis, John M.
Lewis, Richard G.
Lewthwaite, R. G.
Libman, Ben
Lillico, T. A.
Lillyman, Reginald
Lind, W. H.
Lindsley, T.
Linklater, James Wm.
Linney, H. J.
Linstead, Rev. H. C.
Linton, Hall
Lipsit, E. C.
Liptrot, R. E.
Liscombe, Wm. L.
Little, F. M.
Livingston, J. A.
Livingston, Wm. R.
Lizotte, Charles J.
Lloyd, Trevor
Lofquist, J. C.
Loftus, R.
Loftus, S.
London, Norman H.
Long, A. J. M.
Long, Norman W.
Longmore, D. E.
Lovering, His Honor Judge Egerton
Lovett, J. H.
Lucas, F. O.
Lucas, Gordon T.
Lucas, Robert
Lumbers, G. C.
Lundy, R. J.
Lundy, Stanley
Lush, H. V.
Lutton, T. G.
Luxenberg, Benjamin, Q.C.
Lyall, Robert H.
Lynas, A. J.
Lyndon, Patrick
Lyons, E. C.
Lyons, John W.

Mabley, C. B.
MacCallum, N. W.
MacDiarmid, Kenneth H.
Macdiarmid, W. J. G.
MacDonald, Arthur A.
MacDonald, Donald C., M.P.P.
MacDonald, J. K.
MacDonald, Murdoch K.
MacDonald, W. B.
Macdonnell, H. W.
Macdonell, Rex B. G.
MacDougall, W. Murray
MacEachern, Gordon A.
MacFarlane, Donald A.
MacFarlane, Dr. J. A.
MacFarlane, W. S.
Macintosh, J. M., Q.C.
MacKay, Justice F. G.
MacKelcan, Fred R., Q.C.
MacKenzie, B. R. P.
MacKenzie, D. Rae
MacKerrow, Robert
MacKersy, L. S.
Mackie, Ernest B.
Mackie, R. A.
MacKinnon, Angus P.
MacKinnon, Dr. A. R.
MacKinnon, Peter B. L.
MacLaren, Ian
Maclean, Hugh J.
MacMillan, Dr. R. J.
Macnaughton, Alex, Q.C.
Macphee, Norman
MacPherson, Donald S.
Madill, Dr. W. S.
Maedel, Clare W.
Magee, Harold L.
Magi, M. I.
Magwood, W. Marsh, Q.C.
Mainguy, Vice-Admiral E. R., O.B.E., C.D.
Mair, Mace, O.B.E.
Maize, Wm. P.
Male, W. Harold, Q.C.
Mancantelli, Robert J.
Mann, Wm. H.
Manning, G. L.
Manning, John E.
Manning, J. R.
Mansfield, S. J.
Manton, R. G.
Marchant, C. R.
Marchment, W. R.
Mark, Howard S.
Marks, Maj. J. B.
Markton, K. L.
Marley, Major E. H., M.B.E., T.D.
Marr, Donald P.
Marshall, Ernest A.
Marshall, G. Murray
Marshall, Hilary
Marshall, Col. K. R.
Martin, A. S.
Martin, C. C.
Martin, J. A.
Martin, J. C.
Martin, J. M.
Martin, Walter M., Q.C.
Martyn, H. L.
Mason, J. A.
Mason, V. K.
Mason, Wm. R.
Massie, Major J. H. C.
Massie, R. H. L.
Mather, J. J.
Matheson, Rev. A. Dawson, D.D.
Matthews, A. Bruce,
Matthews, Brig. F. Beverley, C.B.E., Q.C.
Matthews, Donald
Matthews, Frederick J.
Matthews, James G.
Mathews, Norman L., Q.C.
Matthews, Wilfrid E.
Mawhinney, W. R.
May, G. E. I.
Maybee, W. E.
Maynard, J. C.
Mayo, George F. M.
Mayson, I. A.
Mayzel, Harry
Mayzel, Louis
Mazzoleni, Dr. E.
McAfee, Raymond E., C.A.
McAvoy, Louis Peter
McBain, Alex Mc.D.
McBride, Ernest W.
McCabe, V. J.
McCaffrey, E. R.

McCamus, W. H.
McCann, Fred V.
McCarthy, D'Alton
McCarthy, John
McCartney, W. S.
McCaul, L. F.
McCausland, Gordon A.
McCausland, J. K.
McClellan, L. A.
McClure, G. Chester
McCombe, C. Jefares
McConkey, D. C.
McConnell, J. E. Jr.
McCormack, T. G.
McCraw, D. F.
McCready, Emmerson J.
McCulley, Joseph
McCullough, J. L.
McCully, Joseph E.
McCutcheon, M. W.,
McCutcheon, W. L.
McDermid, Peter A.
McDonald, D. F.
McDonald, W. H.
McDonough, John E.
McDougald, J. A.
McDougall, R. G. M.
McEachern, C. D.
McEachern, John M.
McEachern, R. A.
McEinen, A. V. M., C.M.
McEwen, Gordon C.
McGaw, A. F.
McGeachy, J. B.
McGill, Cecil D. O.
McGillawee, Ross
McGillion, F. B.
McGillivray, Justice George A.
McGillivray, T. A.
McGinnis, Lt.-Col. J. A.
McGowan, H. S.
McGowan, J. R.
McGowan, L. J.
McGrath, Rev. A. S.
McGregor, I. R.
McGuinness, M. B.
McInnes, Edgar
McIntosh, Donald A.
McIver, Murdoch
McKay, W.
McKay-Clements, J. L.
McKee, Dr. James A.
McKee, John W.
McKee, William
McKinney, F. T.
McKinnon, N. J.
McKnight, J. G.
McLachlan, W. R.
McLaren, A. W.
McLachlan, W. Ian
McLaren, D. H.
McLaughlin, Paul
McLean, J. R.
McLeod, Dr. Alex. N.
McLeod, W. N.
McMahon, Hugh W.
McMaster, W. C.
McMechan, J.
McMehen, C. G.
McMillan, Edwin
McMillan, G. A.
McMillan, Rev. Kenneth G.
McMillan, N. L.
McMillen, John B.
McMurrich, R. G.
McMurtry, W. G. Warren
McNair, F. A. R.
McNair, R. A.
McNeil, S. R. R.
McNeil, W. G.
McNicol, J. A.
McParland, Donald J.
McPherson, R. S., F.C.A.
McQillin, C. W.
McRae, Dr. Colin A.
McRae, Ian F.
McTague, Hon. C. P., Q.C., LL.D.
McTavish, C. E.
McTeer, George S.
McVey, Roy A.
McWhirter, J. T.
McWilliams, D. B.
Medland, J. A.
Medland, Michael R.
Medland, T. J.
Medland, Col. T. M.
Meech, R. G., Q.C.
Meincke, Dr. H. O.
Megginson, Clifford
Melvin, R. McK.

Menzel, D. G. C.
Menzies, Harold
Merson, Bert
Mess, Brigadier James
Messer, Harry W.
Mewhort, D. S.
Middleton, John G., Q.C.
Middleton, V. A.
Might, P. G.
Miles, Ernest
Millar, R. V.
Millenbach, J. P.
Miller, G. C.
Miller, G. W.
Miller, Hamilton
Miller, I. Lee
Miller, J. A. F.
Miller, James C.
Miller, Leon A.
Miller, T. D.
Mills, Dr. Clarke
Mills, George Eaton
Mills, H. C.
Mills, P. H., Q.C.
Minden, Harold
Milne, Howard
Minkler, Dr. F. W.
Mist, Charles F.
Mitchell, A. N.
Mitchell, A. R.
Mitchell, C. L.
Mitchell, Dr. E. W.
Mitchell, John F.
Mitchell, N. Albert
Mitchell, R. W.
Mitchell, William G.
Moffat, Norman D.
Moles, E. M.
Monier, Jean B.
Monkman, Harry H.
Monks, R. C.
Monson, Rabbi David
Montague, Lt.-Col. W. H., O.B.E.
Montgomery, Dr. Robert C.
Montgomery, Scott
Moore, Allan A.
Moore, E. M.
Morden, W. D. S.
Morgan, E. Burtch
Morgan, J.
Morgan, Major J. R. H.
Morgan, Marcel T.
Morison, D. W.
Morley, Frank
Morris, J. B.
Morrison, D. M.
Morrison, Wm. H.
Morrow, John A.
Morrow, Thomas A., M.C.
Mortimer, J. C.
Mortimer, J. M.
Morton, M. D.
Mudie, Hubert C. P.
Mugford, Sidney H.
Muir, Lt.-Col. Chas A.
Muir, L. R.
Muirhead, James
Muirhead, W. T.
Munn, Charles H.
Murchie, W. T.
Murden, K. G.
Murhpy, A. P.
Murphy, E. S.
Murphy, Thomas H.
Murray, D. C.
Musson, Chas. J.
Myers, Rev. A. J. W., B.D., PH.D.
Mylrea, A. J.

Napier, Ernest J.
Nash, Gerald
Nash, Norman R.
Nastich, Milan
Neabel, Charles C.
Neale, John H., D.C.
Neary, Bernard F.
Neelands, Donald G., Q.C.
Nesbitt, Russell, Q.C.
Nesbitt, Wm. A.
Nettelfield, J. P.
Newan, John B.
Newbolt, J. S., C.A.
Newman, Harry A.
Newman, Jose L.
Newman, T. C.
Newport, W. R.
Nicholls, H. C.
Nicholls, S. G.
Nicholson, K. E.

Nickle, Hon. W. M., Q.C., M.C., M.B.E., M.P.P.
Nicks, F. W.
Nightingale, George F.
Ninnis, W. C.
Nodwell, Rev. R. G.
Norrington, H. W.
Northey, J. A.
Northway, John H.
Notley, N. J.
Nodze, Paul
Nowack, Wm. B.

O'Brian, R. B.
O'Connor, W. M.
O'Donnell, Rev. B. A.
O'Donohue, M.
Ogilvie, Dave
O'Hea, B. M. P.
Oliver, P. W.
Olver, A. S.
Omand, J. N.
O'Neill, H. T.
Orenstein, Samuel L.
Orliffe, Herbert, Q.C.
Ormonde, George E. B.
Ormrod, A. H.
Ormston, Melville
Osborne, Col. J. Ewart
Osborne, M. W.
Osbourn, A. J.
Osler, B. B.
Osler, Peter S., Q.C.
O'Sullivan, J. P.
Osler, G. S.
Oulster, W. J.
Ovens, Col. F. N.
Ovens, G., D.F.C., C.P.A.

Paddle, Leslie Harold
Page, Dr. M. A.
Page, Nelson L.
Page, William A.
Pallett, John C.
Palm, William H.
Parish, Dr. James A.
Parker, Hugh B.
Parker, John F.
Parkinson, R. M.
Parks, Capt. Arthur H.
Parnell, John A., O.B.E.
Parr, Rev. R. H.
Parry, W. W., Q.C.
Parsons, C. C.
Parsons, Norman
Partridge, W. T.
Paterson, A. S.
Paterson, James G.
Paterson, D. R.
Paton, S. T.
Patten, Edward
Patterson, Major W. E.
Pattison, E. W.
Pattison, W. S.
Patton, Jno. A.
Patullo, Murray
Paul, George
Paulson, M. T.
Paumann, M. K.
Payne, R. B.
Peachey, Edmund
Peacock, H. Charles
Pearce, N. C.
Pearce, Richard C.
Pearce, W. N.
Pearsall, C. F.
Pearson, E. G.
Peckover, George H.
Peebles, A. W.
Peever, K. Davis
Pegg, W. W.
Pemberton, Frank E.
Pepper, P. B. C., Q.C.
Percy, J. L.
Perkes, Edward
Perkin, I. B.
Perrin, H. D.
Perry, Gordon F.
Perry, J. Harvey
Petersen, H. V.
Petersen, N. F.
Petrie, Albert R.
Petrie, John S.
Pettit, Holland Jr.
Phelan, R. G.
Philip, William
Phillips, Gordon T.
Phillips, J. C.
Phillips, James F.

Phillips, Leslie
Phillips, Nathan, Q.C.
Philp, D. F.
Philpott, D. G.
Phimister, Z. S.
Phipps, C. Norman
Phipps, G. E.
Phipps, G. W.
Pickup, J. D.
Pike, Harry A.
Pilarek, Paul
Pilis, C. F.
Pink, J. W.
Pinker, Rev. Martin W., O.B.E.
Pitt, Arnold
Pittis, Paul R.
Plain, B. E.
Plant, John W.
Plantner, J. F.
Playfair, S. B.
Pollock, J. D. M.
Poole, W. J.
Pouley, F. W.
Porter, Hon. Dana H.
Porter, Donald S.
Porter, J. D., B.COM., C.A.
Porter, W. G.
Porter, R. J.
Potter, Raymond E. S.
Poulson, Andrew
Pounsett, F. H. R.
Powley, B.
Poyntz, A. R.
Pratt, Prof. E. J.
Pratt, Roger B.
Pratt, W. J.
Prentice, Magistrate John L., Q.C.
Prentice, Victor F.
Prentice, W. M.
Prentis, E. D.
Price, Harry I.
Price, Peter M., P.ENG.
Price, Vincent, Q.C.
Price, Lt. Col. W. H., Q.C.
Priddle, Roger
Prince, H. R.
Prior, Donald R.
Prior, Rev. Wm.
Proctor, John S.
Proverbs, C. I.
Prowse, Russell A.
Purcell, Gillis
Rabnett, Basil
Radcliffe, N. D.
Rae, Robert
Raleigh, Robert C.
Ralph, George W.
Ralph, R. Ford
Ramey, P. Alex.
Ramsay, Victor R.
Randall, H.
Rankin, Donald G.
Rankin, Lt.-Col. G. A., D.C.O., E.D.
Ransom, A. C.
Rapmund, J. L.
Rawson, Clark M.
Rawson, George H.
Ray, Louis W.
Reason, J. F.
Rechnitzer, E. V.
Rector, Luther G.
Reddrop, F. O.
Redford, Wm. J.
Redrupp, R. J.
Reeb, H. E.
Rees, S. L.
Reeves, E. H.
Regan, Major N. H., M.B.E., C.D
Reid, Dr. H. W.
Reid, J. C.
Reid, J. H.
Reid, Morgan
Reid, Peter
Reilly, L. M., M.P.P.
Reinstein, H. G.
Rendall, S. D.
Reynolds, B. J.
Rhind, J. A.
Rice, M. A.
Richards, Roland W.
Richardson, B. T.
Richmond, Frank
Rickard, W. Paul
Rickey, H. R.
Riddell, Dr. Walter A.
Riley, Very Rev. Dean
Rimgy, Jacques
Ripley, T. S.

Ritch, J. G.
Ritchie, Gen. Sir Neil
Roberts, Hon. A. Kelso, Q.C., M.P.P.
Roberts, Harold E.
Roberts, J. H.
Roberts, L. V.
Robertson, C. S.
Robertson, Douglas S.
Robertson, John F.
Robinette, T. L.
Robinson, J. B.
Robinson, T. A.
Robinson, W. G. W.
Robinson, W. W.
Robson, J. A.
Roebuck, Hon. Arthur, Q.C.
Roelofson, E. C.
Rogers, A. W., M.C., Q.C., D.C.L.
Rogers, George F.
Rogers, N. MacL., Q.C.
Rollason, W. E.
Rolph, Lt. Col. F. Grenville
Romani, H. S.
Ronan, Rt. Rev. J. E., D.P.
Rooney, Anthony C.
Roost, G. H.
Rosborough, T. H.
Rosenberg, H. S.
Rose, J. W. Jr.
Ross, A. Dwight
Ross, Ian
Ross, J. Allan
Ross, John B.
Ross, John T.
Ross, M. C. C.
Ross, Dr. Murray G.
Rotenberg, Harry I.
Rounthwaite, C. F. T.
Rous, W. A.
Rowland, J. G.
Rowntree, H. Leslie
Roxborough, E. L.
Roxborough, E. M.
Roy, Kayo J.
Royse, C. F.
Russell, Norman E.
Russell, S. H.
Russell, T. B.
Rutherford, Robt. C.
Rutledge, John J.
Ruttan, Col. C. M.

Sablin, Wm. R.
Sadowski, B.
Sager, Elmer
Sakamoto, Hideo
Sale, R. M.
Salmon, C. R. B.
Salmond, E. G.
Samson, Gerald
Samuel, Sigmund, LL.D.
Samworth, R. G.
Sanders, C. J.
Sanderson, Horrell
Santamaura, Dr. A. W.
Saunders, Edward
Saunders, Leslie H.
Saunders, R. G.
Savage, J. K.
Savage, Mark J.
Savage, Thomas L.
Sayle, Wm.
Scalabre, Guy
Schalk, D. J.
Scherer, Joseph
Schiller, S. C., Q.C.
Schlesinger, Emil E.
Schmidt, R. A.
Scott, Ernest W.
Scott, J. B.
Scott, Karl E.
Scott, W. M.
Scott, W. P.
Seabrook, V. M
Seagram, J. W.
Sears, Paul
Seccombe, N. M.
Seccombe, W. Wallace
Sedgwick, Hugh
Sedgwick, Joseph, Q.C.
Seguin, J. H.
Seitz, E. Burke
Selby, F. Reg.
Self, R. Harvey
Seltzer, John
Sewell, Ralph E.
Sewell, Wm. S.
Shakespeare, W. C., C.A.
Shannon, L. P.

Sharpe, L. B.
Sharp, Roy C., Q.C.
Shave, J. W. G.
Shaver, Edward B. H.
Shaver, H. R.
Shaw, Fred M.
Shay, P. G.
Sheath, Kenneth W.
Shelson, Norman
Shenstone, Dr. Norman
Sheppard, G. H.
Sheppard, Norris E.
Sheppard, W. A. E.
Shier, Dr. R. V. B.
Shillabeer, Leslie R.
Shiner, Irwin
Shipp, Gordon S.
Short, Rev. John, D.D., PH.D.
Shurly, F. G.
Siegal, Harold H.
Sifton, Major Clifford
Sifton, Michael C.
Sigsworth, Oscar T.
Simonds, Lt. Gen. G. G.
C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., C.D.
Simpson, J. R.
Simpson, Morris I.
Simpson, N. M.
Sinclair, Dr. Gordon A.
Sinclair, G. Russell
Skeans, A. J., Q.C.
Skelly, James T.
Skey, W/C L. W.
Small, R. Hardy
Smiley, Ross V.
Smith, A. H.
Smith, A. J.
Smith, Dean
Smith, D. M. A.
Smith, Rev. Canon F. A.
Smith, F. R.
Smith, Harold
Smith, Harry R.
Smith, Harold S.
Smith, Isadore
Smith, J. Herbert
Smith, K. B.
Smith, L. J.
Smith, Richard Routledge
Smith. S. E. V., C.A.
Smith, Sidney R.
Smith, Walter F.
Smith, W. G.
Smyth, A. Rolph
Snelgrove, L. S.
Snider, P. R.
Soame, G. R.
Solmon, N.
Somerville, Thomas A.
Sone, Shael S., C.A.
Sorbora, Dr. V. J.
Sorley, S. H.
Southam, W. W.
Sparks, A. Douglas
Sparks, E. G.
Sparrow, Eugene E.
Speer, Arthur A.
Speirs, N. R.
Spence, Dr. Magnus
Spooner, C. H.
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